NARRATIVE

OF

ROPER'S ESCAPE

FROM

SLAVERY.

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Moses Roper.

In 1840.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

ADVENTURES AND ESCAPE

OF

MOSES ROPER,

FROM

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A LIST OF PLACES VISITED BY THE AUTHOR IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND THE BRITISH ISLES; AND OTHER MATTER.

THIRTY-SIXTH THOUSAND.

(ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.)

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED:
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The determination of laying this little narrative before the public, did not arise from any desire to make myself conspicuous, but with the view of exposing the cruel system of slavery, as will here be laid before my readers; from the urgent calls of nearly all the friends to whom I had related any part of my story, and also from the recommendation of anti-slavery meetings, which I have attended, through the suggestion of many warm friends of the cause of the oppressed.

The general narrative, I am aware, may seem to many of my readers, and especially to those who have not been before put in possession of the actual features of this accursed system, somewhat at variance with the dictates of humanity. But the facts related here do not come before the reader unsubstantiated by collateral evidence, nor highly coloured to the disadvantage of our cruel taskmasters.

My readers may be put in possession of facts respecting this system which equal in cruelty my own narrative, on an authority which may be investigated with the greatest satisfaction. Besides which, this little book will not be confined to a small circle of my own friends in London, or even

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in England. The slave-holder, the colonizationist, and even Mr. Gooch himself, will be able to obtain this document, and be at liberty to draw from it whatever they are honestly able, in order to set me down as the tool of a party. Yea, even Friend Brechenridge, a gentleman known at Glasgow, will be able to possess this, and to draw from it all the forcible arguments on his own side, which in his wisdom, honesty, and candour, he may be able to adduce.

The earnest wish to lay this narrative before my friends as an impartial statement of facts, has led me to develope some part of my conduct, which I now deeply deplore. The ignorance in which the poor slaves are kept by their masters, precludes almost the possibility of their being alive to any moral duties.

With these remarks, I leave the statement before the public. May this little volume be the instrument of opening the eyes of the ignorant of the system—of convincing the wicked, cruel, and hardened slaveholder—and of befriending generally the cause of oppressed humanity.

MOSES ROPER.

London, 1839.

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CHAPTER I.

Birth-place of the Author.—The first time he was sold from his Mother, and passed through several other hands.

I WAS born in North Carolina, in Caswell County, I am not able to tell in what month or year. What I shall now relate, is what was told me by my mother and grandmother. A few months before I was born, my father married my mother's young mistress. As soon as my father's wife heard of my birth, she sent one of my mother's sisters to see whether I was white or black, and when my aunt had seen me, she returned back as soon as she could, and told her mistress that I was white, and resembled Mr. Roper very much. Mr. Roper's wife not being pleased with this report, she got a large club-stick and knife, and hastened to the place in which my mother was confined. She went into my mother's room with a full intention to murder me with her knife and club, but as she was going to stick the knife into me, my grandmother happening to come in, caught the knife and saved my life. But as well as I can recollect from what my mother told me, my father sold her and myself, soon after her confinement. I cannot recollect anything that is worth notice till I was six or seven years of age. My mother being half white, and my father a white man, I was at that time very white. Soon after I was six or seven years of age, my mother's old master died, that is, my father's wife's father. All his slaves had to be divided among the children.* I have mentioned before

* Slaves are usually a part of the marriage portion, but lent rather than given, to be returned to the estate at the decease of the father, in order that they may be divided equally among his children.

of my father disposing of me ; I am not sure whether he exchanged me and my mother for another slave or not, but think it very likely he did exchange me with one of his wife's brothers or sisters, because I remember when my mother's old master died, I was living with my father's wife's brother-in-law, whose name was Mr. Durham. My mother was drawn with the other slaves.

The way they divide their slaves is this : they write the names of different slaves on a small piece of paper, and put it into a box, and let them all draw. I think that Mr. Durham drew my mother, and Mr. Fowler drew me, so we were separated a considerable distance, I cannot say how far. My resembling my father so much, and being whiter than the other slaves, caused me to be soon sold to what they call a negro trader, who took me to the Southern States of America, several hundred miles from my mother. As well as I can recollect I was then about six years old. The trader, Mr. Mitchell, after travelling several hundred miles, and selling a good many of his slaves, found he could not sell me very well, (as I was so much whiter than other slaves were) for he had been trying several months—left me with a Mr. Sneed, who kept a large boarding-house, who took me to wait at table, and sell me if he could. I think I stayed with Mr. Sneed about a year, but he could not sell me. When Mr. Mitchell had sold his slaves, he went to the north, and brought up another drove, and returned to the south with them, and sent his son-in-law into Washington, in Georgia, after me ; so he came and took me from Mr. Sneed, and met his father-in-law with me, in a town called Lancaster, with his drove of slaves. We stayed in Lancaster a week, because it was court week, and there were a great many people there, and it was a good opportunity for selling the slaves ; and there he was enabled to sell me to a gentleman, Dr. Jones, who was both a Doctor and a Cotton Planter. He took me into his shop to beat up and mix medicines, which was not a very hard employment, but I did not keep it long, as the Doctor soon sent me to his cotton plantation, that I might be burnt darker by the sun. He sent me to be with a tailor to learn the trade, but the journeymen being white men, Mr. Bryant, the tailor, did not let me work in the shop ; I cannot say whether it was the prejudice of his men in not wanting me to sit in the shop with them, or whether Mr. Bryant wanted to keep me about the house to do the domestic work,

instead of teaching me the trade. After several months, my master came to know how I got on with the trade: I am not able to tell Mr. Bryant's answer, but it was either that I could not learn, or that his journeymen were unwilling that I should sit in the shop with them. I was only once in the shop all the time I was there, and then only for an hour or two before his wife called me out to do some other work. So my master took me home, and as he was going to send a load of cotton to Camden, about forty miles distance, he sent me with the bales of cotton to be sold with it, where I was sold to a gentleman, named Allen ; but Mr. Allen soon exchanged me for a female slave to please his wife. The traders who bought me, were named Cooper and Lindsey, who took me for sale, but could not sell me, people objecting to my being rather white. They then took me to the city of Fayetteville, North Carolina, where he swopt me for a boy, that was blacker than me, to Mr. Smith, who lived several miles off.

I was with Mr. Smith nearly a year. I arrived at the first knowledge of my age when I lived with him. I was then between twelve and thirteen years old ; it was when President Jackson was elected the first time, and he has been President eight years, so I must be nearly twenty-one years of age. At this time I was quite a small boy, and was sold to Mr. Hodge, a negro trader. Here I began to enter into hardships.

CHAPTER II.

The Author's being sold to Mr. J. Gooch.—The cruel treatment he both received and witnessed while on his estate.—Repeated attempts at running away.—Escapes to his mother after being absent from her about ten years.—Meets with his sister, whom he had never seen before, on the road, who conducted him to his mother.

After travelling several hundred miles, Mr. Hodge sold me to Mr. Gooch, the Cotton Planter, Cashaw County, South Carolina; he purchased me at a town called Liberty Hill, about three miles from his home. As soon as he got home, he immediately put me on his cotton plantation to work, and put me under overseers, gave me an allowance of meat and bread with the other slaves, which was not half enough for me to live upon, and very laborious work; here my heart was almost broke with grief at leaving my fellow-slaves. Mr. Gooch did not mind my grief, for he flogged me nearly every day, and very severely. Mr. Gooch bought me for his son-in-law, Mr. Hammans, about five miles distance from his residence. This man had but two slaves besides myself; he treated me very kindly for a week or two, but in summer, when cotton was ready to hoe, he gave me task work, connected with this department, which I could not get done, not having worked on cotton farms before. When I failed in my task he commenced flogging me, and set me to work without any shirt, in the cotton field, in a very hot sun, in the month of July. In August, Mr. Condell, his overseer, gave me a task at pulling fodder; having finished my task before night, I left the field, the rain came on which soaked the fodder; on discovering this, he threatened to flog me for not getting in the fodder before the rain came. I attempted to run away, knowing that I should get a flogging. I was then between thirteen and fourteen years of age; I ran away to the woods half naked; I was caught by a slave-holder who put me in Lancaster Gaol. When they put slaves in gaol, they advertise for their masters to own them; but if the master does not claim his slave in six months from the time of imprison-

ment, the slave is sold for gaol fees. When the slave runs away, the master always adopts a more rigorous system of flogging ; this was the case in the present instance. After this, having determined from my youth to gain my freedom, I made several attempts, was caught, and got a severe flogging of one hundred lashes, each time. Mr. Hammans was a very severe and cruel master, and his wife still worse ; she used to tie me up and flog me while naked.

After Mr. Hammans saw that I was determined to die in the woods, and not live with him, he tried to obtain a piece of land from his father-in-law, Mr. Gooch: not having the means of purchasing it, he exchanged me for the land.

As soon as Mr. Gooch had possession of me again, knowing that I was averse to going back to him, he chained me by the neck to his chaise. In this manner he took me to his home at Mac Daniels Ferry, in the County of Chester, a distance of fifteen miles. After which, he put me into a swamp to cut trees, the heaviest work, which men of twenty-five or thirty years of age have to do, I being but sixteen. Here I was on very short allowance of food, and having heavy work, was too weak to fulfil my tasks. For this, I got many severe floggings: and, after I had got my irons off, I made another attempt at running away. He took my irons off, in the full anticipation that I could never get across the Catarba River, even when at liberty. On this, I procured a small Indian canoe, which was tied to a tree, and ultimately got across the river in it. I then wandered through the wilderness for several days without any food, and but a drop of water to allay my thirst, till I become so starved, that I was obliged to go to a house to beg for something to eat, when I was captured, and again imprisoned.

Mr. Gooch having heard of me through an advertisement, sent his son after me ; he tied me up, and took me back to his father. Mr. Gooch then obtained the assistance of another slaveholder, and tied me up in his blacksmith's shop, and gave me fifty lashes with a cow-hide. He then put a log chain, weighing twenty-five pounds, round my neck, and sent me into a field, into which he followed me with a cow-hide, intending to set his slaves to flog me again. Knowing this, and dreading to suffer again in this way, I gave him the slip, and got out of his sight, he having stopped to speak with the other slaveholder.

I got to a canal on the Catarba River, on the banks of

which, and near to a loch, I procured a stone and a piece of iron, with which I forced the ring off my chain, and got it off, and then crossed the river, and walked about twenty miles, when I fell in with a slave-holder, named Ballad, who had married the sister of Mr. Hammans. I knew that he was not so cruel as Mr. Gooch, and therefore begged of him to buy me. Mr. Ballad, who was one of the best planters in the neighbourhood, said that he was not able to buy me, and stated that he was obliged to take me back to my master, on account of the heavy fine attaching to a man harbouring a slave. Mr. Ballad proceeded to take me back; as we came in sight of Mr. Gooch's all the treatment that I had met with there, came forcibly upon my mind, the powerful influence of which is beyond description. On my knees, with tears in my eyes, with terror in my countenance, and fervency in all my features, I implored Mr. Ballad to buy me, but he again refused, and I was taken back to my dreaded and cruel master. Having reached Mr. Gooch's he proceeded to punish me. This he did, by first tying my wrists together and placing them over the knees, he then put a stick through, under my knees and over my arms, and having thus secured my arms, he proceeded to flog me, and gave me five hundred lashes on my bare back. This may appear incredible, but the marks which they left at present remain on my body, a standing testimony to the truth of this statement of his severity. He then chained me down in a log-pen with a forty pounds chain, and made me lie on the damp earth all night. In the morning, after his breakfast, he came to me, and without giving me any breakfast, tied me to a large heavy harrow, which is usually drawn by a horse, and made me drag it to the cotton field for the horse to use in the field. Thus, the reader will see, that it was of no possible use to my master to make me drag it to the cotton field and not through it; his cruelty went so far, as actually to make me the slave of his horse, and thus to degrade me. He then flogged me again, and set me to work in the cotton field the whole of that day, and at night chained me down in the log-pen as before. The next morning he took me to the cotton field, and gave me a third flogging, and sent me to hoe cotton. At this time I was dreadfully sore and weak with the repeated floggings and cruel treatment I had endured. He put me under a black man, with orders, that if I did not keep up my row in hoeing with this man, he was to flog me. The reader must recollec-

here, that not being used to this kind of work, having been a domestic slave, it was impossible for me to keep up with him, and therefore I was repeatedly flogged during the day.

Mr. Gooch had a female servant about eighteen years old, who had also been a domestic slave, and, through not being able to fulfil her task, had run away : which slave he was at this time punishing for that offence. On the third day, he chained me to this female slave, with a large chain of forty pounds* weight round my neck. It was most harrowing to my feelings thus to be chained to a young female slave, for whom I would rather have suffered one hundred lashes than she should have been thus treated ; he kept me chained to her during the week, and repeatedly flogged us both, while thus chained together, and forced us to keep up with the other slaves, although retarded by the heavy weight of the log-chain.

Here again, words cannot describe the misery which possessed both body and mind whilst under this treatment, and which was most dreadfully increased by the sympathy which I felt for my poor, degraded fellow-sufferer. On the Friday morning, I entreated my master to set me free from my chains, and promised him to do the task which was given me, and more if possible, if he would desist from flogging me. This he refused to do until Saturday night, when he did set me free.—This must rather be ascribed to his own interest in preserving me from death, as it was very evident I could no longer have survived under such treatment.

After this, though still determined in my own mind to escape, I stayed with him some months, during which he frequently flogged me, but not so severely as before related.—During this time, I had opportunity for recovering my health, and using means to heal my wounds. My master's cruelty was not confined to me, it was his general conduct to all his slaves. I might relate many instances to substantiate this, but will confine myself to one or two. Mr. Gooch, it is proper to observe, was a member of a Baptist Church, called Black Jack Meeting House, in Cashaw County, which church I attended for several years, but was never inside. This is accounted for by the fact, that the coloured population are not permitted to mix with the white population. In the Roman

* This was a chain that they used to draw logs with from the woods, when they clear their land.

Catholic Church no distinction is made. Mr. Gooch had a slave named Phil, who was a member of a Methodist Church; this man was between seventy and eighty years of age; he was so feeble that he could not accomplish his tasks, for which his master used to chain him round the neck, and run him down a steep hill; this treatment he never relinquished to the time of his death. Another case was that of a slave, named Peter, who, for not doing his task, he flogged nearly to death, and afterwards pulled out his pistol to shoot him, but his (Mr. Gooch's) daughter snatched the pistol from his hand. Another mode of punishment which this man adopted, was that of using iron horns, with bells, attached to the back of the slave's neck. The following is the instrument of torture:—

A WOMAN WITH IRON HORNS AND BELLS ON, TO KEEP HER FROM RUNNING AWAY.

This instrument he used to prevent the negroes running away, being a very ponderous machine, several feet in height, and the cross pieces being two feet four, and six feet in length. This custom is generally adopted among the slave-holders in South Carolina, and other slave States. One morning, about

an hour before day break, I was going on an errand for my master; having proceeded about a quarter of a mile, I came up to a man named King, (Mr. Sumlin's overseer,) who had caught a young girl that had run away with the above machine on her. She had proceeded four miles from her station, with the intention of getting into the hands of a more humane master. She came up with this overseer nearly dead, and could get no farther; he immediately secured her, and took her back to her master, a Mr. Johnson.

Having been in the habit of going over many slave States with my master, I had good opportunities of witnessing the harsh treatment which was adopted by masters towards their slaves. As I have never heard or read anything connected with slavery, so cruel as what I have myself witnessed, it will be as well to mention a case or two.

A large farmer, Colonel M'Quiller in Cashaw county, South Carolina, was in the habit of driving nails into a hogshead so as to leave the point of the nail just protruding in the inside of the cask; into this, he used to put his slaves for punishment, and roll them down a very long and steep hill. I have heard from several slaves, (though I had no means of ascertaining the truth of this statement,) that in this way he had killed six or seven of his slaves. This plan was first adopted by a Mr. Perry, who lived on the Catarba River, and has since been adopted by several planters. Another was that of a young lad, who had been hired by Mr. Bell, a member of a holding church, to hoe three-quarters of an acre of cotton per day. Having been brought up as a domestic slave, he was not able to accomplish the task assigned to him. On the Saturday night, he left three or four rows to do on the Sunday; on the same night it rained very hard, by which the master could tell that he had done some of the rows on the Sunday; on Monday, his master took and tied him up to a tree in the field, and kept him there the whole of that day and flogged him at intervals. At night, when he was taken down, he was so weak that he could not get home, having a mile to go. Two white men who were employed by Mr. Bell, put him on a horse, took him home, and threw him, down on the kitchen floor, while they proceeded to their supper. In a little while, they heard some deep groans proceeding from the kitchen; they went to see him die; he had groaned his last. Thus, Mr. Bell flogged the poor boy, even to death, for what? for breaking the Sabbath, when he (his

master) had set him a task, on Saturday, which it was not possible for him to do, and which, if he did not do, no mercy would be extended towards him! The general custom in this respect is, that if a man kills his own slave, no notice is taken of it by the civil functionaries; but if a man kills a slave belonging to another master, he is compelled to pay the worth of the slave. In this case, a jury met, returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against this man, and ordered him to pay the value. Mr. Bell was unable to do this, but a Mr. Cunningham paid the debt, and took this Mr. Bell, with this recommendation for cruelty, to be his overseer.

It will be observed that most of the cases here cited, are those in respect to males. Many instances, however, in respect to females, might be mentioned, but are too disgusting to appear in this narrative. The cases here brought forward are not rare, but the continued feature of slavery. But I must now follow up the narrative as regards myself in peculiar. I stayed with this master for several months, during which time we went on very well in general. In August, 1831, (this was my first acquaintance with any date), I happened to hear a man mention this date, and, as it excited my curosity, I asked what it meant; they told me it was the number of the year from the birth of Christ. On this date, August 1831, some cows broke into a crib where the corn is kept, and ate a great deal. For this, his slaves were tied up, and received several floggings: but myself and another man, hearing the groans of those who were being flogged, stayed back in the field, and would not come up. Upon this, I thought to escape punishment. On the Monday morning, however, I heard my master flogging the other man who was in the field; he could not see me, it being a field of Indian corn, which grows to a great height. Being afraid that he would catch me, and dreading a flogging more than many other, I determined to run for it; and, after travelling forty miles, I arrived at the estate of Mr. Crawford, in North Carolina, Mecklinburgh county. Having formerly heard people talk about the Free States, I determined upon going thither, and, if possible, in my way to find out my poor mother, who was in slavery, several hundred miles from Chester; but the hope of doing the latter was very faint, and, even if I did, it was not likely that she would know me, having been separated from her when between five and six years old.

The first night I slept in a barn, upon Mr. Crawford's es-

tate, and, having overslept myself, was awoke by Mr. Crawford's overseer, upon which I was dreadfully frightened ; he asked me what I was doing there ? I made no reply to him then ; and he making sure that he had secured a runaway slave, did not press me for an answer. On my way to his house, however, I made up the following story, which I told him in the presence of his wife :—I said that I had been bound to a very cruel master when I was a little boy, and that having been treated very badly I wanted to get home to see my mother. This statement may appear to some to be untrue, but as I understood the word *bound*, I considered it to apply to my case, having been sold to him, and thereby bound to serve him ; though still, I did rather hope that he would understand it, that I was bound when a boy till twenty-one years of age. Though I was white at that time, he would not believe my story, on account of my hair being curly and wooly, which led him to conclude I was possessed of enslaved blood. The overseer's wife, however, who seemed much interested in me, said she did not think I was of the African origin, and that she had seen white men still darker than me ; her persuasion prevailed ; and after the overseer had given me as much butter-milk as I could drink, and something to eat, which was very acceptable, having had nothing for two days, I set off for Charlotte, in North Carolina, the largest town in the county. I went on very quickly the whole of that day, fearful of being pursued. The trees were thick on each side of the road, and only a few houses, at the distance of two or three miles apart ; as I proceeded, I turned round in all directions to see if I was pursued, and if I caught a glimpse of any one coming along the road, I immediately rushed into the thickest part of the wood, to elude the grasp of what, I was afraid, might be my master. I went on in this way the whole day ; at night, I came up with two waggons, they had been to market ; the regular road waggons do not generally put up at inns, but encamp in the roads and fields. When I came to them, I told them the same story I had told Mr. Crawford's overseer, with the assurance that the statement would meet the same success. After they had heard me, they gave me something to eat, and also a lodging in the camp with them.

I then went on with them about five miles, and they agreed to take me with them as far as they went, if I would assist them. This I promised to do. In the morning, however, I

was much frightened by one of the men putting several questions to me—we were then about three miles from Charlotte. When within a mile of the town, we stopped at a brook to water the horses ; while stopping there I saw the men whispering, and fancying I overheard them say they would put me in Charlotte gaol when they got there, I made my escape into the woods, pretending to be looking after something till I got out of their sight. I then ran on as fast I could, but did not go through the town of Charlotte, as had been my intention ; being a large town I was fearful it might prove fatal to my escape. Here I was at a loss how to get on, as houses were not very distant from each other for nearly two hundred miles.

While thinking what I should do, I observed some waggons before me, which I determined to keep behind, and never go nearer to them than a quarter of a mile—in this way I travelled till I got to Salisbury. If I happened to meet any person on the road, I was afraid they would take me up, I asked them how far the waggons had gone on before me ? to make them suppose I belonged to the waggons. At night, I slept on the ground in the woods, some little distance from the waggons, but not near enough to be seen by the men belonging to them. All this time, I had but little food, principally fruit, which I found on the road. On Thursday night, I got into Salisbury, having left Chester on the Monday preceding. After this, being afraid my master was in pursuit of me, I left the usual line of road, and took another direction, through Huntsville and Salem, principally through fields and woods ; on my way to Caswell Court-House, a distance of nearly two hundred miles from Salisbury,* I was stopped by a white man, to whom I told my old story, and again succeeded in my escape. I also came up with a small cart, driven by a poor man, who had been moving into some of the western territories, and was going back to Virginia, to move some more of his luggage. On this I told him I was going the same way to Hilton, thirteen miles from Caswell Court-House ; he took me up in his cart, and went to the Red House, two miles from Milton, the place where Mr. Mitchell took me from, when six years old, to go to the Southern States. This was a very providential circumstance,

* The distance from Salisbury to Caswell Court-house is not so far, but I had to go a round-about way.

for it happened, that at the time I had to pass through Caswell Court-house, a fair or election was going on, which caused the place to be much crowded with people, and rendered it more dangerous for me to pass through.

At the Red House I left the cart, and wandered about a long time, not knowing which way to go and find my mother. After some time, I took the road leading over Ikeo Creek. I shortly came up with a little girl, about six years old, and asked her where she was going; she said, to her mother's, pointing to a house on a hill, half a mile off. She had been at the overseer's house, and was returning to her mother. I then felt some emotions arising in my breast, which I cannot describe, but will be explained in the sequel. I told her I was very thirsty, and would go with her to get something to drink. On our way I asked her several questions, such as her name, that of her mother; she said hers was Maria, and that of her mother's Nancy. I inquired, if her mother had any more children? she said five besides herself, and that they had been sold, that one had been sold when a little boy. I then asked the name of this child? she said it was Moses. These answers, as we approached the house, led me nearer and nearer to the finding out the object of my pursuit, and of recognising in the little girl the person of my own sister.

CHAPTER III.

An account of the Author's meeting with his Mother, who did not know him, but was with her a very short time before he was taken by armed men, and imprisoned for thirty-one days, and then taken back to his master.

At last I got to my mother's house! my mother was at

home. I asked her if she knew me? she said, no. Her master was having a house built close by, and as the men were digging a well, she supposed that I was one of the diggers. I told her, I knew her very well, and thought that if she looked at me a little, she would know me, but this had no effect. I then asked her if she had any sons? she said, yes; but none so large as me. I then waited a few minutes, and narrated some circumstances to her, attending my being sold into slavery, and how she grieved at my loss. Here the mother's feelings on that dire occasion, and which a mother can only know, rushed to her mind; she saw her own son before her, for whom she had so often wept; and, in an instant, we were clasped in each other's arms, amidst the ardent interchange of caresses and tears of joy. Ten years had elapsed since I had seen my dear mother. My own feelings, and the circumstances attending my coming home, have been often brought to mind since, on a perusal of the 42d, 43d, 44th, and 45th chapters of Genesis. What could picture my feelings so well, as I once more beheld the mother who had brought me into the world, and had nourished me, not with the anticipation of my being torn from her maternal care, when only six years old, to become the prey of a mercenary and blood-stained slave-holder: I say, what picture so vivid in description of this part of my tale, as the 7th and 8th verses of the 42d chapter of Genesis, "And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them. And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him." After the first emotion of the mother, on recognising her first-born, had somewhat subsided, could the reader not fancy the little one, my sister, as she told her simple tale of meeting with me to her mother, how she would say, while the parent listened with intense interest: "The man asked me straitly of our state and our kindred, saying, is your father yet alive, and have ye another brother." Or, when at last, I could no longer refrain from making myself known, I say I was ready to burst into a frenzy of joy. How applicable the 1st, 2d, and 3d verses of the 45th chapter, "Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all that stood by him, and he wept aloud, and said unto his brethren, I am Joseph, doth my father still live." Then when the mother knew her son, when the brothers and sisters owned their brother; "he kissed all his brethren and wept over them, and after that his brethren talked with him," 15th verse. At night my mother's hus-

band, a blacksmith, belonging to Mr. Jefferson at the Red House, came home; he was surprised to see me with the family, not knowing who I was. He had been married to my mother, when I was a babe, and had always been very fond of me. After the same tale had been told him, and the same emotions filled his soul, he again kissed the object of his early affection. The next morning I wanted to go on my journey, in order to make sure of my escape to the Free States. But as might be expected, my mother, father, brothers, and sisters, could ill part with their long lost one; and persuaded me to go into the woods in the day time, and at night come home and sleep there. This I did for about a week; on the next Sunday night, I laid me down to sleep between my two brothers, on a pallet, which my mother had prepared for me; about twelve o'clock I was suddenly awoke, and found my bed surrounded by twelve slave-holders with pistols in hand, who took me away (not allowing me to bid farewell to those I loved so dearly) to the Red House, where they confined me in a room the rest of the night, and in the morning lodged me in the gaol of Caswell Court-House.

What was the scene at home, what sorrow possessed their hearts, I am unable to describe, as I never after saw any of them more. I heard, however, that my mother was, soon after I left, confined, and was very long before she recovered the effects of this disaster.* I was told afterwards, that some of those men who took me were professing Christians, but, to me, they did not seem to live up to what they professed; they did not seem, by their practice, at least, to recognise that God as their God, who hath said, "thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee, he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."—Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

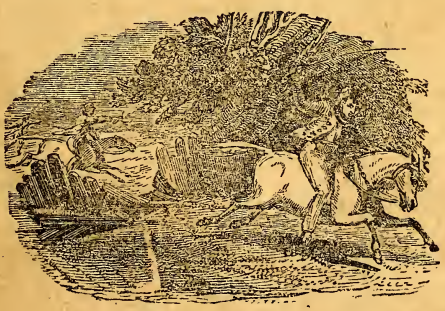
I was confined here in a dungeon under ground, the grating of which looked to the door of the gaoler's house. His wife had a great antipathy to me. She was Mr. Roper's wife's cousin. My grandmother used to come to me nearly every day, and bring me something to eat, besides the regular gaol allowance, by which my sufferings were somewhat decreased.

* My mother had seven children living when I last saw her, and the above one was born soon after I left, made the eighth, and they are now all in slavery except myself.

Whenever the gaoler went out, which he often did, his wife used to come to my dungeon, and shut the wooden door over the grating, by which I was nearly suffocated, the place being very damp and noisome. My master did not hear of my being in gaol for thirty-one days after I had been placed there. He immediately sent his son, and son-in-law, Mr. Anderson, after me. They came in a horse and chaise, took me from the gaol to a blacksmith's shop, and got an iron collar fitted round my neck, with a heavy chain attached, then tied my hands, and fastened the other end of the chain on a horse, and put me on its back. Just before we started, my grandmother came to bid me farewell; I gave her my hand as well as I could, and she having given me two or three presents, we parted. I had felt enough, far too much, for the weak state I was in; but how shall I describe my feelings, upon parting with the *last* relative that I *ever saw*. The reader must judge by what would be his own feelings under similar circumstances. We then went on for fifty miles; I was very weak and could hardly sit on the horse. Having been in prison so long, I had lost the southern tan; and as the people could not see my hair, having my hat on, they thought I was a white man—a criminal—and asked me what crime I had committed. We arrived late at night, at the house of Mr. Britton. I shall never forget the journey that night. The thunder was one continued roar, and the lightning blazing all around. I expected every minute that my iron collar would attract it, and I should be knocked off the horse, and dragged along the ground. This gentleman, a year or two before, had liberated his slaves, and sent them into Ohio, having joined the Society of Friends, which society does not allow the holding of slaves. I was, therefore, treated very well there, and they gave me a very hearty supper, which did me much good in my weak state.

They secured me in the night by locking me to the post of the bed on which they slept. The next morning, we went on to Salisbury. At that place we stopped to water the horses; they chained me to a tree in the yard, by the side of their chaise. On my horse they put the saddle bags which contained the provisions. As I was in the yard, a black man came and asked me what I had been doing; I told him that I had run away from my master, after which he told me several tales about the slaves, and among them he mentioned the case of a Quaker, who was then in prison, waiting

to be hung, for giving a free passage to a slave. I had been considering all the way how I could escape from my horse, and once had an idea of cutting his head off, but thought it too cruel; and at last thought of trying to get a rasp and cut the chain by which I was fastened to the horse. As they often let me get on a quarter of a mile before them, I thought I should have a good opportunity of doing this without being seen. The black man procured me a rasp, and I put it into the saddle-bags which contained the provisions. We then went on our journey, and one of the sons asked me if I wanted anything to eat; I answered no, though very hungry at the time, as I was afraid of their going to the bags and discovering the rasp. However, they had not had their own meal at the inn as I had supposed, and went to the bags to supply themselves, where they found the rasp. Upon this, they fastened my horse beside the horse in their chaise, and kept a stricter watch over me. Nothing remarkable occurred till we got within eight miles of Mr. Gooch's, where we stopped a short time; and, taking advantage of their absence, I broke a switch from some boughs above my head, lashed my horse and set off at full speed. I had got about a quarter of a mile



MR. ANDERSON ATTEMPTING TO SHOOT THE AUTHOR, AFTER TELLING HIM TO STOP THREE TIMES, ACCORDING TO THE LAW.

before they could get their horse loose from their chaise ; one then rode the horse, and the other ran as fast as he could after me. When I caught sight of them, I turned off the main road into the woods, hoping to escape their sight ; their horse, however, being much swifter than mine, they soon got within a short distance of me. I then came to a rail fence, which I found it very difficult to get over, but breaking several rails away, I effected my object. They then called me upon to stop more than three times ; and I not doing so, they fired after me, but the pistol only snapped.

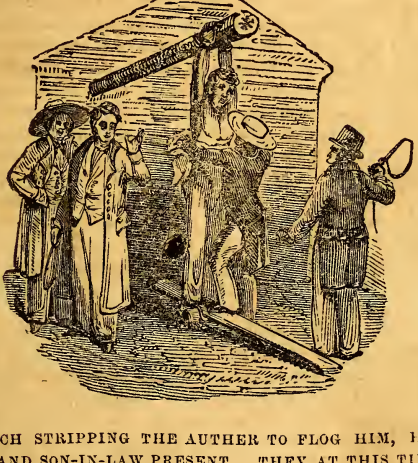
This is according to law ; after three calls they may shoot a runaway slave. Soon after the one on the horse came up with me, and catching hold of the bridle of my horse, pushed the pistol to my side ; the other soon came up, and breaking off several stout branches from the trees, they gave me about one hundred blows. This they did very near to a planter's house. The gentleman was not at home, but his wife came out and begged them not to *kill me so near the house ;* they took no notice of this, but kept on beating me. They then fastened me to the axle tree of their chaise. One of them got into the chaise, the other took my horse, and they ran me all the eight miles as fast as they could ; the one on my horse going behind to guard me.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author is Flogged and Punished in various ways, but still perseveres in his attempts to Escape, till he was sold to Mr. Wilson.

In this way we came to my old master, Mr. Gooch. The first person I saw was himself ; he unchained me from the chaise, and at first seemed to treat me very gently, asking

me where I had been, &c. The first thing the sons did was to show the rasp which I had got to cut my chain. My master gave me a hearty dinner, the best he ever did give me; but it was to keep me from dying before he had given me all the flogging he intended. After dinner he took me to a log-house, stripped me quite naked, fastened a rail up very high, tied my hands to the rail, fastened my feet together, put a rail between my feet, and stood on one end of it to hold me down; the two sons then gave me fifty lashes each, the son-in-law another fifty, and Mr. Gooch himself fifty more.



MR. GOOCH STRIPPING THE AUTHER TO FLOG HIM, HIS TWO SONS AND SON-IN-LAW PRESENT. THEY AT THIS TIME GIVE HIM FIFTY LASHES EACH.

While doing this his wife came out, and begged him not to kill me, the first act of sympathy I ever noticed in her. When I called for water, they brought a pail-full and threw it over my back ploughed up by the lashes. After this, they took me to the blacksmith's shop, got *two large bars of iron*, which they bent round my feet, each bar *weighing twenty pounds*, and put a heavy log-chain on my neck. This was on Saturday. On the Monday, he chained me to the same

female slave as before. As he had to go out that day, he did not give me the punishment which he intended to give me every day, but at night when he came home, he made us walk round his estate, and by all the houses of the slaves. for them to taunt us; when we came home he told us we must be up very early in the morning, and go to the field before the other slaves. We were up at day-break, but we could not get on fast, on account of the heavy irons on my feet. It may be necessary to state here, that these irons were first made red hot and bent in a circle, so as just to allow of my feet going through; it having been cooled, and my leg with the iron on lifted up to an anvil, it was made secure round my ancles. When I walked with these irons on, I used to hold them up with my hands by means of a cord. We walked *about a mile in two hours*, but knowing the punishment he was going to inflict on us, we made up our minds to escape into the woods, and secrete ourselves. This we did, and he not being able to find us, which they could not do; and about twelve o'clock, when we thought they would give up looking for us at that time, we went on, and came to the banks of the Catarba. Here I got a stone, and opened the ring of the chain on her neck, and got it off; and the chain round my neck was only passed through a ring; as soon as I got hers off, I slipped the chain through my ring, and got it off my own neck.* We then went on by the banks of the river for some distance, and found a little canoe about two feet wide. I managed to get in, although the irons on my feet made it very dangerous, for if I had upset the canoe, I could not swim. The female got in after me, and gave me the paddles, by which we got some distance down the river. The current being very strong, it drove us against a small island; we paddled round the island to the other side, and then made towards the opposite bank. Here again we were stopped by the current, and made up to a large rock in the river, between the island and the opposite shore. As the weather was very rough we landed on the rock, and secured the canoe, as it was not possible to get back to the island. It was a very dark night and rained tremendously; and, as the water was rising rapidly towards the top of the rock, we gave all up for lost, and

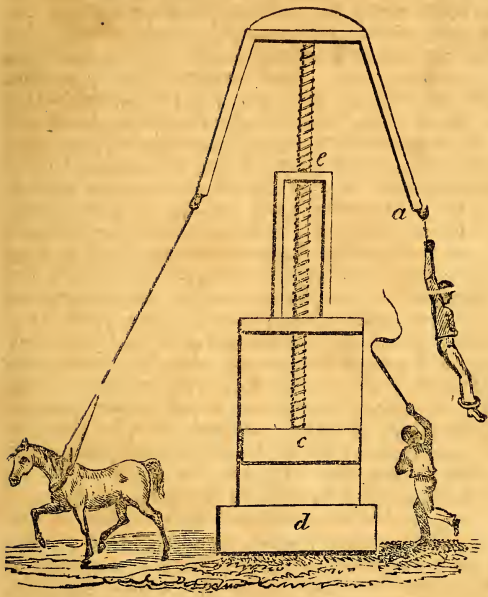
* It may be well to state here, that the ring which fastened the log-chain together round the female's neck, was an open ring, similar to those used at the end of a watch chain.

sometimes hoped, and sometimes feared to hope, that we should never see the morning. But Providence was moved in our favour ; the rain ceased, the water reached the edge of the rock, then receded, and we were out of danger from this cause. We remained all night upon the rock, and in the morning reached the opposite shore, and then made our way through the woods till we came to a field of Indian corn, where we plucked some of the green ears and ate them, having had nothing for two days and nights. We came to the estate of ————. where we met with a coloured man who knew me, and having run away himself from a bad master, he gave us some food, and told us we might sleep in the barn that night. Being very fatigued, we overslept ourselves ; the proprietor came to the barn, but as I was in one corner under some Indian corn tops, and she in another, he did not perceive us, and we did not leave the barn before night, (Wednesday.) We then went out, got something to eat, and strayed about the estate till Sunday. On that day, I met with some men, one of whom had irons on the same as me ; he told me that his master was going out to see his friends, and that he would try and get my feet loose ; for this purpose I parted with this female, fearing, that if she were caught with me, she would be forced to tell who took my irons off. The man tried some time without effect, he then gave me a file and I tried myself, but was disappointed on account of their thickness.

On the Monday I went on towards Lancaster, and got within three miles of it that night ; and went towards the plantation of Mr. Crockett, as I knew some of his slaves, and hoped to get some food given me. When I got there, however, the dogs smelt me out and barked ; upon which, Mr. Crockett came out, followed me with his rifle, and came up with me. He put me on a horse's back, which put me to extreme pain, from the great weight hanging at my feet. We reached Lancaster gaol that night, and he lodged me there. I was placed in the next dungeon to a man who was going to be hung. I shall never forget his cries and groans, as he prayed all night for the mercy of God. Mr. Gooch did not hear of me for several weeks ; when he did, he sent his son-in-law, Mr. Anderson, after me. Mr. Gooch himself came within a mile of Lancaster, and waited until Mr Anderson brought me. At this time I had but one of the irons on my feet, having got so thin round my ancles that I had slipped one off while in gaol. His son-in-law tied my hands, and made me walk along till

we came to Mr. Gooch. As soon as we arrived at M'Daniel's Ford, two miles above the ferry, on the Catarba river, they made me wade across, themselves going on horseback. The water was very deep, and having irons on one foot and round my neck, I could not keep a footing. They dragged me along by my chain on the top of the water. It was as much as they could do to hold me by the chain, the current being very strong. They then took me home, flogged me, put extra irons on my neck and feet, and put me under the driver, with more work than ever I had before. He did not flog me so severely as before, but continued it every day. Among the instruments of torture employed, I here describe one:—This is a machine used for packing and pressing cotton. By it he hung me up by the hands at letter *a*, a horse, and at times, a man moving round the screw *e*, and carrying it up and down, and pressing the block *c* into a box *d*, into which the cotton is put. At this time he hung me up for a quarter of an hour. I was carried up ten feet from the ground, when Mr. Gooch asked me if I was tired? He then let me rest for five minutes, then carried me round again, after which, he let me down and put me into the box *d*, and shut me down in it for about ten minutes. After this torture, I stayed with him several months, and did my work very well. It was about the beginning of 1832, when he took off my irons, and being in dread of him, he having threatened me with more punishment, I attempted again to escape from him. At this time I got into North Carolina: but a reward having been offered for me, a Mr. Robinson caught me, and chained me to a chair, upon which he sat up with me all night, and next day proceeded home with me. This was Saturday. Mr. Gooch had gone to church, several miles from his house. When he came back, the first thing he did was to pour some tar upon my head, then rubbed it all over my face, took a torch with pitch on, and set it on fire; he put it out before it did me very great injury, but the pain which I endured was most excruciating, nearly all my hair having been burnt off. On Monday, he put irons on me again, weighing nearly fifty pounds. He threatened me again on the Sunday with another flogging; and on the Monday morning, before daybreak, I got away again, with my irons on, and was about three hours going a distance of two miles.* I had gone a good distance, when I

* It must be recollected, that when a person is two miles from a house, in that part of the country, he can hide himself in the woods for weeks, and I knew a slave who was hid for six months without discovery, the trees being so thick.



THE AUTHOR HANGING BY HIS HANDS TIED TO A COTTON SCREW.*

met with a coloured man, who got some wedges, and took my irons off. However, I was caught again, and put into prison in Charlotte, where Mr. Gooch came, and took me back to Chester. He asked me how I got my irons off. They having been got off by a slave, I would not answer his question, for fear of getting the man punished. Upon this he put the fin-

* This screw is sometimes moved round by hand, when there is a person hanging on it. The screw is made with wood, a large tree cut down, and carved the shape of a screw.

gers of my hands into a vice, and squeezed all my nails off. He then had my feet put on an anvil, and ordered a man to beat my toes, till he smashed some of my nails off. The marks of this treatment still remain upon me, some of my nails never having grown perfect since. He inflicted this punishment, in order to get out of me how I got my irons off, but never succeeded. After this, he hardly knew what to do with me ; the whole stock of his cruelties seemed to be exhausted. He chained me down in the log-house. Soon after this, he sent a female slave to see if I was safe. Mr. Gooch had not secured me as he thought : but had only run my chain through the ring, without locking it. This I observed ; and while the slave was coming, I was employed in loosening the chain with the hand that was not wounded. As soon as I observed her coming, I drew the chain up tight, and she observing that I seemed fast, went away and told her master, who was in the field ordering the slaves. When she was gone, I drew the chain through the ring, escaped under the flooring of the log-house, and went on under it, till I came out at the other side and ran on ; but, being sore and weak, I had not got a mile before I was caught, and again carried back. He tied me up to a tree in the woods at night, and made his slaves flog me. I cannot say how many lashes I received ; but it was the worst flogging I ever had, and the last which Mr. Gooch ever gave me.

There are several circumstances which occurred on this estate while I was there, relative to other slaves, which it may be interesting to mention. Hardly a day ever passed without some one being flogged. To one of his female slaves he had given a doze of castor oil and salts together, as much as she could take ;* he then got a box, about six feet by two and a half, and one and a half feet deep ; he put this slave under the box, and made the men fetch as many logs as they could get ; and put them on the top of it ; under this she was made to stay all night. I believe, that if he had given this slave one, he had given her three thousand lashes. Mr. Gooch was a member of a Baptist church. His slaves thinking him a very bad sample of what a professing Christian ought to be, would not join the connection he belonged to, thinking they must be a very bad set of people ; there were many of them

* The female whom Mr. Gooch chained to me.

members of the Methodist Church.* On Sunday, the slaves can only go to church at the will of their master, when he gives them a pass for the time they are to be out. If they are found by the patrole after the time to which their pass extends, they are severely flogged.

On Sunday nights a slave, named Allen, used to come to Mr. Gooch's estate for the purpose of exhorting and praying with his brother slaves, by whose instrumentality many of them had been converted. One evening, Mr. Gooch caught them all in a room, turned Allen out, and threatened his slaves with one hundred lashes each, if they ever brought him there again. At one time Mr. Gooch was ill and confined to his room ; if any of the slaves had done anything which he thought deserved a flogging, he would have them brought into his bed-room and flogged before his eyes.

With respect to food, he used to allow us one peck of Indian meal per week, which, after being sifted and the bran taken from it, would not be much more than half a peck. Meat we did not get for sometimes several weeks together ; however, he was proverbial for giving his slaves more food than any other slave-holder. I stayed with Mr. Gooch a year and a half ; during that time the scenes of cruelty I witnessed and experienced, are not at all fitted for these pages. There is much to excite disgust in what has been narrated, but hundreds of other cases might be mentioned.

* In fact, in some of the States, nearly all of the slaves are Methodists ; and when in the field at work they may be often heard singing these words, "I am happy, I am happy, Lord pity poor me.—Me never know what happiness was, until I joined de Methodists. I am happy, Lord pity poor me."

CHAPTER V.

I was not long with Mr. Wilson, who was a Negro trader, before he exchanged me to Mr. Rowland, who was also a trader, for another slave, and after being with him about a year, was sold to Mr. Goodly, who exchanged me again to Mr. Louis.

After this, Mr. Gooch seeing that I was determined to get away from him, chained me, and sent me with another female slave, whom he had treated very cruelly, to Mr. Britton, son of the before-mentioned slave-dealer. We were to have gone to Georgia to be sold, but a bargain was struck before we arrived there. Mr. Britton had put chains on me to please Mr. Gooch, but having gone some little distance we came up with a white man, who begged Mr. Britton to unchain me; he then took off my handcuffs. We then went on to Union Court House, where we met a drove of slaves belonging to Mr. Wilson, who ultimately bought me and sent me to his drove: the girl was sold to a planter in the neighbourhood as bad as Mr. Gooch.* In court week the negro traders and slaves encamp a little way out of the town. The traders here will often sleep with the best-looking female slaves among them, and they will often have many children in the year, which are said to be slaveholder's children, by which means, through his villainy, he will make an immense profit of this intercourse, by selling the babe with its mother. They often keep an immense stock of slaves on hand; many of them will be with the trader a year or more before they are sold. Mr. Marcus Rowland, the drover, who brought me, then returned with his slaves to his brother's house (Mr. John Rowland), where he kept his drove on his way to Virginia. He kept me as a kind of servant. I had to grease the faces of the blacks every morning with sweet oil, to make

* As I am often asked "what became of the female I was chained to?" the above is the girl, whom I have seen once since she was last sold, and from what I saw of her then, I do not think she is alive now.

them shine, before they are put up to sell. After he had been round several weeks, and sold many slaves, he left me at his brother's house, while he went on to Washington, about 600 miles, to buy some more slaves, the drove having got very small. We were treated very well while there, having plenty to eat and little work to do, in order to make us fat. I was brought up as a domestic slave, as they generally prefer slaves of my colour for that purpose. When Mr. Rowland came back, having been absent about five months, he found all the slaves well except one female, who had been grieving very much at being parted from her parents, and at last died of grief. He dressed us very nicely and went on again. I travelled with him for a year, and had to look over the slaves and see that they were dressed well, had plenty of food, and to oil their faces. During this time we stopped once at White House Church, a Baptist Association; a protracted camp meeting was holding there, on the plan of the revival meetings in this country. We got there at the time of the meeting, and sold two female slaves on the Sunday morning, at the time the meeting broke up, to a gentleman who had been attending the meeting the whole of the week. While I was with Mr. Rowland, we were at many such meetings; and the members of the churches are by this means so well influenced towards their fellow-creatures at these meetings for the worship of God, that it becomes a fruitful season for the drover, who carries on an immense traffic with the attendants at these places. This is common to Baptists and Methodists. At the end of the year, he exchanged me to a farmer, Mr. David Goodly, for a female slave in Greenville, about 14 miles from Greenville Court House. This gentleman was going to Missouri to settle, and on his way had to pass through Ohio, a free State. But having learnt after he bought me, that I had before tried to get away to the free States, he was afraid to take me with him, and I was exchanged to a Mr. Louis.

CHAPTER VI.

Travel with Mr. Louis to Pendleton Indian Springs, from thence to Columbus, where I was sold at auction to Mr. Beveridge. Travels and history with Mr. Beveridge.

Mr. Marvel Louis was in the habit of travelling a great deal, and took me as a domestic slave to wait on him. Mr. Louis boarded at the house of a Mr. Clevelin, a rich planter, at Greenville, South Carolina. Mr. L. was paying his addresses to the daughter of this gentleman, but was surprised and routed in his approaches, by a Colonel Dorkins, of Union Court House, who ultimately carried her off in triumph. After this, Mr. Louis took to drinking, to drown his recollection of disappointed love.

One day he went to Pendleton Races, and I waited on the road for him: returning intoxicated he was thrown from his horse into a brook, and was picked up by a gentleman, and taken to an inn, and I went there to take care of him. Next day he went on to Punkintown with Mr. Warren R. Davis, a member of Congress; I went with him. This was at the time of the agitation of the Union and Nullifying party, which was expected to end in a general war. The Nullifying party had a grand dinner on the occasion, after which, they gave their slaves all their refuse, for the purpose of bribing them to fight on the side of their party. The scene on this occasion was humorous, all the slaves scrambling after bare bones and crumbs, as if they had had nothing for weeks. When Mr. Louis had got over this fit of drunkenness, we returned to Greenville, where I had little to do except in the warehouse. There was preaching in the Court-house on the Sunday; but scarcely had the sweet savour of the worship of God passed away, when, on Monday, a public auction was held for the sale of slaves, cattle, sugar, iron, &c., by Z. Davis, the high constable and others.

On these days I was generally very busy in handing out the different articles for inspection, and was employed in this

way for several months. After which, Mr. Louis left his place for Pendleton; but his health getting worse, and fast approaching consumption, he determined to travel. I went with him over Georgia to the Indian Springs, and from there to Columbus; here he left me with Lawyer Kemp, a member of the State Assembly, to take care of his horse and carriage till he came back from Cuba, where he went for the benefit of his health. I travelled round with Mr. Kemp, waiting until my master came back. I soon after heard, that Mr. Louis had died in Appalachicola, and had been buried at Tenessee Bluff. I was very much attached to the neighbourhood of Pendleton and Greenville, and feared, from Mr. Louis's death, I should not get back there.

As soon as this information arrived, Mr. Kemp put me, the carriage and horses, a gold watch, and cigars, up to auction, on which I was much frightened, knowing there would be some very cruel masters at the sale; and fearing I should again be disappointed in my attempt to escape from bondage. A Mr. Beveridge, at Scotchman, from Appalachicola, bought me, the horses, and cigars.* He was not a cruel master; he he had been in America eighteen years, and I believe I was the first slave he ever bought. Mr. Kemp had no right to sell me, which he did, before he had written to Mr. Louis's brother.

Shortly after this, Mr. Kemp having had some altercation with General Woodford, it ended in a duel, in which Mr. W. was killed. A few weeks after, as Mr. Kemp was passing down a street, he was suddenly shot dead by Mr. Milton, a rival lawyer. When I heard this, I considered it a visitation of God on Mr. Kemp for having sold me unjustly, as I did not belong to him. This was soon discovered by me, Mr. Louis's brother having called at Macintosh Hotel, Columbus, to claim me, but which he could not effect. After this, I travelled with Mr. Beveridge through Georgia, to the warm springs, and then back to Columbus, going on to Marianna, his summer house in Florida.

* How Mr. Beveridge ever became a slave-holder, I cannot account for; for I believe him to be the only kind slave-holder in America: and not only that, I have been in England many years and have never met with a kinder man than Mr. Beveridge; and have often prayed that God would deliver him from that one sin—a sin which he was kept from eighteen years.

Here I met with better treatment than I had ever experienced before; we travelled on the whole summer; at the fall, Mr. Beveridge went to Appalachicola on business. Mr. Beveridge was contractor for the mail from Columbus to Appalachicola, and owner of three steam-boats, the Versailles, Andrew Jackson, and Van Buren. He made me steward on board of the Versailles, the whole winter. The river then got so low that the boats could not run. At this time Mr. Beveridge went to Mount Vernon. On our way we had to pass through the Indian nation. We arrived at Columbus, where I was taken dangerously ill of a fever. After I got well, Mr. Beveridge returned to Marianna, through the Indian nation. Having gone about twelve miles, he was taken very ill.

I took him out of the carriage to a brook, and washed his hands and face until he got better, when I got him into the carriage again, and drove off till we came to General Irving's, where he stopped several days on account of his health. While there, I observed on the floor of the kitchen several children, one about three months old, without any body to take care of her; I asked where her mother was, and was told that Mrs. Irving had given her a very hard task to do at washing, in a brook, about a quarter of a mile distant. We heard after, that not being able to get it done, she got some cords, tied them round her neck, climbed up a tree, swung off, and hung herself. Being missed, persons were sent after her, who observed several buzzards flying about a particular spot, to which they directed their steps, and found the poor woman nearly eaten up.

After this we travelled several months without anything remarkable taking place.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's last Attempt and final Escape from Marianna to Savannah; from thence to New York; Quarantined at Staten Island.

In the year 1834, Mr. Beveridge, who was now residing in Appalachicola, a town in West Florida, became a bankrupt, when all his property was sold, and I fell into the hands of a very cruel master, Mr. Register, a planter in the same State; of whom, knowing his savage character, I always had a dread. Previously to his purchasing me, he had frequently taunted me, by saying, "You have been a gentleman long enough, and, whatever may be the consequences, I intend to buy you." To which I remarked, that I would on no account live with him if I could help it. Nevertheless, intent upon his purpose, in the month of July, 1834, he bought me; after which I was so exasperated, that I cared not whether I lived or died; in fact, whilst I was on my passage from Appalachicola, I procured a quart bottle of whisky, for the purpose of so intoxicating myself, that I might be able either to plunge myself into the river, or so enrage my master that he should despatch me forthwith. I was, however, by a kind Providence, prevented from committing this horrid deed by an old slave on board, who, knowing my intention, secretly took the bottle from me; after which, my hands were tied, and I was led into the town of Ochesa, to a warehouse, where my master was asked by the proprietor of the place the reason of his confining my hands; in answer to which, Mr. Register said that he had purchased me. The proprietor, however, persuaded him to untie me; after which, my master being excessively drunk asked for a cow-hide, intending to flog me, from which the proprietor dissuaded him, saying that he had known me for some time, and he was sure that I did not require to be flogged. From this place we proceeded about mid-day on our way. He placed me on the bare back of a half-starved old horse, which he had purchased, and upon which sharp *surface* he kindly intended I should ride about eighty miles, the distance we were then from his home. In this unpleasant si-

tuation I could not help reflecting upon the prospects before me, not forgetting that I had heard my new master had been in the habit of stealing cattle and other property, and among other things a slave woman, and that I had said, as it afterwards turned out, in the hearing of some one who communicated the saying to my master, that I had been accustomed to live with a gentleman and not with a rogue ; and, finding that he had been informed of this, I had the additional dread of a few hundred lashes for it on my arrival at my destination.

About two hours after we started it began to rain very heavily, and continued to do so until we arrived at Marianna, about twelve at night, when we were to rest till morning. My master here questioned me as to whether I intended to run away or not; and I not then knowing the sin of lying, at once told him that I would not. He then gave me his clothes to dry. I took them to the kitchen for that purpose, and he retired to bed, taking a bag of clothes belonging to me with him, as a kind of security, I presume, for my safety. In an hour or two afterwards I took his clothes to him dried, and found him fast asleep. I placed them by his side, and said that I would then take my own to dry too, taking care to speak loud enough to ascertain whether he was asleep or not, knowing that he had a dirk and pistol by his side, which he would not have hesitated using against me, if I had attempted secretly to have procured them. I was glad to find that the effects of his drinking the day before had caused his sleeping very soundly, and I immediately resolved on making my escape ; and without loss of time started with my few clothes into the woods, which were in the immediate neighbourhood ; and after running many miles, I came up to the river Chapoli, which is very deep, and so beset with alligators that I dared not attempt to swim across.

I paced up and down this river, with the hope of finding a conveyance across, for a whole day, the succeeding night, and till noon on the following day, which was Saturday. About twelve o'clock on that day I discovered an Indian canoe, which had not from all appearance been used for some time ; this of course, I used to convey myself across, and after being obliged to go a little way down the river, by means of a piece of wood I providentially found in the boat, I landed on the opposite side. Here I found myself surrounded by planters looking for me, in consequence of which,

I hid myself in the bushes until night, when I again travelled several miles to the farm of a Mr. Robinson, a large sugar and cotton planter, where I rested till morning in a field. Afterwards I set out, working my way through the woods, about twenty miles towards the east; this I knew by my knowledge of the position of the sun at its rising. Having reached the Chattahoochee river, which divides Florida from Georgia, I was again puzzled to know how to cross; it was about three o'clock in the day, when a number of persons were fishing; having walked for some hours along the banks, I at last, after dark, procured a ferry-boat, which not being able, from the swiftness of the river, to steer direct across, I was carried many miles down the river, landing on the Georgian side, from whence I proceeded on through the woods two or three miles, and came to a little farm-house about twelve o'clock at night; at a short distance from the house I found an old slave hut, into which I went, and informed the old man, who appeared seventy or eighty years old, that I had had a very bad master from whom I run away; and asked him if he could give me something to eat, having had no suitable food for three or four days; he told me he had nothing but a piece of dry Indian bread, which he cheerfully gave me; having eaten it, I went on a short distance from the hut, and laid down in the wood to rest for an hour or two. All the following day (Monday) I continued travelling through the woods, and was greatly distressed for want of water to quench my thirst, it being a very dry country, till I came to Spring Creek, which is a wide, deep stream, and with some of which I gladly quenched my thirst. I then proceeded to cross the same, by a bridge close by, and continued my way until dusk. I came to a gentleman's house in the woods, where I inquired how far it was to the next house, taking care to watch an opportunity to ask some individual whom I could master, and get away from, if any interruption to my progress was attempted. I went on for some time, it being a very fine moonlight night, and was presently alarmed by the howling of a wolf near me; which, I concluded, was calling others to join him in attacking me, having understood that they always assemble in numbers for such a purpose; the howling increased, and I was still pursued, and the numbers were evidently increasing fast; but I was happily rescued from my dreadful fright, by coming to some cattle, which attracted, as I supposed, the wolves, and

saved my life; for I could not get up the trees for safety, they being very tall pines, the lowest branches of which were, at least, forty or fifty feet from the ground, and the trunks very large and smooth.

About two o'clock I came to the house of a Mr. Cherry, on the borders of the Flint River; I went up to the house, and called them up to beg something to eat; but having nothing cooked, they kindly allowed me to lie down in the porch, where they made me a bed. In conversation with this Mr. Cherry, I discovered that I had known him before, having been in a steam-boat, the Versailles, some months previous, which sunk very near the house, but which I did not at first discern to be the same. I then thought it would not be prudent for me to stop there, and, therefore, told them, I was in a hurry to get on, and must start very early again, he having no idea who I was; and I gave his son six cents to take me across the river, which he did when the sun was about half an hour high, and unfortunately landed me where there was a man building a boat, who knew me very well, and my former master too,—he calling me by name, asked me where I was going.

I was very much frightened at being discovered, but summoned up courage, and said, that my master had gone to Tallyhassa by the coach, and that there was not room for me, and I had to walk round to meet him. I then asked the man to put me in the best road to get there, which, however, I knew as well as he did, having travelled there before; he directed me the best way; but I, of course, took the contrary direction, wanting to get on to Savannah. By this hasty and wicked deception, I saved myself from going to Bainbridge prison, which was close by, and to which I should certainly have been taken had it been known that I was making my escape.

Leaving Bainbridge, I proceeded about forty miles, travelling all day under a scorching sun, through the woods, in which I saw many deer and serpents, until I reached Thomas Town, in the evening. I there inquired the way to Augusta, of a man whom I met, and also asked where I could obtain lodgings, and was told there was a poor minister about a mile from the place who would give me lodgings. I accordingly went, and found them in a little log-house, where, having awakened the family, I found them all lying on the bare boards, where I joined them, for the remainder of the night.

In the morning the old gentleman prayed for me, that I might be preserved on my journey; he had previously asked me where I was going, and knowing, that if I told him the right place, any that inquired of him for me would be able to find me, asked the way to Augusta, instead of Savannah, my real destination. I also told him, that I was partly Indian and partly white, but I am also partly African, but this I omitted to tell him, knowing if I did I should be apprehended. After I had left this hut, I again inquired for Augusta, for the purpose of misleading my pursuers, but I afterwards took my course through the woods, and came into a road, called the Coffee Road, which General Jackson cut down for his troops at the time of the war between the Americans and Spaniards, in Florida; in which road there are but few houses, and which I preferred for the purpose of avoiding detection.

After several days I left this road and took a more direct way to Savannah, where I had to wade through two rivers before I came to the Alatamah, which I crossed in a ferry-boat, about a mile below the place where the rivers Oconee and Ocmulgee run together into one river, called the Alatamah. I here met with some cattle drovers, who were collecting cattle to drive to Savannah. On walking on before them, I began to consider in what way I could obtain a passport for Savannah, and determined on the following plan:—

I called at a cottage, and after I had talked some time with the wife, who began to feel greatly for me, in consequence of my telling her a little of my history (her husband being out hunting), I pretended to show her my passport, feeling for it everywhere about my coat and hat, and not finding it, I went back a little way, pretending to look for it, but came back, saying, I was very sorry, but I did not know where it was. At last, the man came home, carrying a deer upon his shoulders, which he brought into the yard, and began to dress it. The wife then went out to tell him my situation, and after long persuasion, he said he could not write, but that if I could tell his son what was in my passport he would write me one; knowing that I should not be able to pass through Savannah without one, and having heard several free coloured men read theirs, I thought I could tell the boy what to write. The lad sat down and wrote what I told him, nearly filling a large sheet of paper for the passport, and another with recommendations. These being completed, I was invited to partake of the fresh venison, which the

woman of the house had prepared for dinner, and having done so, and feeling grateful for their kindness, I proceeded on my way. Going along, I took my papers out of my pocket, and looking at them, although I could not read a word, I perceived that the boy's writing was very unlike other writing that I had seen, and was greatly blotted besides, consequently I was afraid that these documents would not answer my purpose, and began to consider what other plan I could pursue to obtain another pass.

I had now to wade through another river to which I came, and which I had great difficulty in crossing, in consequence of the water overflowing the banks of several rivers to the extent of upwards of twenty miles. In the midst of the water, I passed one night upon a small island, and the next day I went through the remainder of the water. On many occasions, I was obliged to walk upon my toes, and consequently found the advantage of being six feet two inches high, (I have grown three inches since,) and at other times was obliged to swim. In the middle of this extremity, I felt it would be imprudent for me to return; for if my master was in pursuit of me, my safest place from him was in the water, if I could keep my head above the surface.. I was, however, dreadfully frightened at the crocodiles, and most earnestly prayed that I might be kept from a watery grave, and resolved, that if again I landed, I would spend my life in the service of God.

Having, through mercy, again started on my journey, I met with the drovers; and having, whilst in the waters, taken the pass out of my hat, and so dipped it in the water as to spoil it, I showed it to the men, and asked them where I could get another. They told me that in the neighbourhood, there lived a rich cotton merchant, who would write me one. They took me to him, and gave their word that they saw the passport before it was wet, (for I had previously showed it to them,) upon which, the cotton-planter wrote a free pass and a recommendation, to which the cow-drovers affixed their marks.

The recommendation was as follows:—

"John Roper, a very interesting young lad, whom I have seen and travelled with for eighty or ninety miles on his road from Florida, is a free man, descended from Indian and white. I trust he will be allowed to pass on without interruption, being convinced, from what I have seen, that he is

free, and though dark, is not an African. I had seen his papers before they were wetted."

These cow-drovers, who procured me the passport and recommendation from the cotton-planter, could not read; and they were intoxicated when they went with me to him. I am part African, as well as Indian and white, my father being a white man, Henry Roper, Esq. Caswell County, North Carolina, U.S. a very wealthy slave-holder, who sold me when quite a child, for the strong resemblance I bore him. My mother is part Indian, part African; but I dared not disclose that, or I should have been taken up. I then had eleven miles to go to Savannah, one of the greatest slave-holding cities in America, and where they are always looking out for run-away slaves. When at this city, I had travelled about five hundred miles.* It required great courage to pass through this place. I went through the main street with apparent confidence, though much alarmed; did not stop at any house in the city, but went down immediately to the docks, and inquired for a berth as a steward to a vessel to New York. I had been in this capacity before on the Appalachicola River. The person whom I asked to procure me a berth, was steward of one of the New York Packets; he knew Captain Deckay, of the schooner Fox, and got me a situation on board that vessel in five minutes after I had been at the docks. The schooner Fox was a very old vessel, twenty-seven years old, laden with lumber and cattle for New York; she was rotten, and could not be insured. The sailors were afraid of her; but I ventured on board, and five minutes after, we dropped from the docks into the river. My spirits then began to revive, and I thought I should get to a free country directly. We cast anchor in the stream, to keep the sailors on, as they were so dissatisfied with the vessel, and lay there four days; during which time, I had to go into the city several times, which exposed me to great danger, as my master was after me, and I dreaded meeting him in the city.

Fearing the Fox would not sail before I should be seized, I deserted her, and went on board a brig sailing to Provi-

* The distance between these two places is much less than five hundred miles: but I was obliged to travel round about, in order to avoid being caught.

dence, that was towed out by a steam-boat,* and got thirty miles from Savannah. During this time I endeavoured to persuade the steward to take me as an assistant, and hoped to have accomplished my purpose ; but the captain had examined me attentively, and thought I was a slave ; he therefore ordered me, when the steam-boat was sent back, to go on board her to Savannah, as the fine for taking a slave from that city to any of the Free States, is five hundred dollars. I reluctantly went back to Savannah, among slave-holders and slaves. My mind was in a sad state ; and I was under strong temptation to throw myself into the river. I had deserted the schooner Fox, and knew that the captain might put me into prison till the vessel was ready to sail ; if this happened, and my master had come to jail in search of me, I must have gone back to slavery. But when I reached the docks at Savannah, the first person I met was the captain of the Fox, looking for another steward in my place. He was a very kind man, belonging to the Free States, and inquired if I would go back to his vessel. This usage was very different to what I expected, and I gladly accepted his offer. This captain did not know that I was a slave. In about two days we sailed from Savannah to New York.

I am (August 1834,) unable to express the joy I now felt. I never was at sea before, and after I had been out about an hour, was taken with sea-sickness, which continued five days. I was scarcely able to stand up, and one of the sailors was obliged to take my place. The captain was very kind to me all this time ; but even after I recovered, I was not sufficiently well to do my duty properly, and could not give satisfaction to the sailors, who swore at me, and asked me why I shipped as I was not used to the sea ? We had a very quick passage ; and in six days, after leaving Savannah, we were in the harbour at Staten Island, where the vessel was quarantined for two days, six miles from New York. The captain went to the city, but left me aboard with the sailors, who had most of them been brought up in the slave-holding States, and were very cruel men. One of the sailors was particularly angry with me, because he had to perform the duties of my place ; and while the captain was in the city, the sailors called me to the fore-hatch, where they said they would treat me. I

* An iron boat, the first that was ever built in America, belonging to Mr. Lemayor, and this was also the first time she sailed.

went, and while I was talking, they threw a rope round my neck and nearly choked me. The blood streamed from my nose profusely. They also took up ropes with large knots, and knocked me over the head. They said I was a negro; they despsed me; and I expected they would have thrown me into the water. When we arrived at the city, these men, who had so ill-treated me, ran away that they might escape the punishment which would otherwise have been inflicted on them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrived in New York, went on to Poughkeepsie, Albany, Vermont, Boston, and return to New York—Embarked for England.

When I arrived in the city of New York, I thought I was free; but learned I was not, and could be taken there. I went out into the country several miles, and tried to get employment; but failed, as I had no recommendation. I then returned to New York; but finding the same difficulty there to get work as in the country, I went back to the vessel, which was to sail eighty miles up the Hudson river, to Poughkeepsie. When I arrived, I obtained employment at an inn, and after I had been there about two days, was seized with the cholera, which was at that place. The complaint was, without doubt, brought on by having subsisted on fruit only, for several days, while I was in the slave States. The landlord of the inn came to me when I was in bed, suffering violently from cholera, and told me he knew I had that complaint, and as it had never been in his house, I could not stop there any longer. No one would enter my room, except a young lady, who appeared very pious, and amiable, and had visited persons with the cholera. She immediately pro-

cured me some medicine at her own expense, and administered it herself; and whilst I was groaning with agony, the landlord came up and ordered me out of the house directly. Most of the persons in Poughkeepsie had retired for the night, and I lay under a shed on some cotton bales. The medicine relieved me, having been given so promptly; and next morning I went from the shed, and laid on the banks of the river below the city. Towards evening, I felt much better, and went on in a steam-boat, to the city of Albany, about eighty miles. When I reached there, I went into the country, and tried for three or four days to procure employment, but failed.

At that time I had scarcely any money, and lived upon fruit; so I returned to Albany, where I could get no work, as I could not show the recommendations I possessed, which were only from slave States; and I did not wish any one to know I came from them. After a time I went up the western canal as steward in one of the boats. When I had gone about 350 miles up the canal, I found I was going too much towards the slave States, in consequence of which, I returned to Albany, and went up the northern canal, into one of the New England States—Vermont. The distance I had travelled, including the 350 miles I had to return from the west, and the 100 to Vermont, was 2300 miles. When I reached Vermont, I found the people very hospitable and kind; they seemed opposed to slavery, so I told them I was a runaway slave. I hired myself to a firm in Sudbury.* After I had been in Sudbury some time, the neighbouring farmers told me, that I had hired myself for much less money than I ought. I mentioned it to my employers, who were very angry about it; I was advised to leave by some of the people around, who thought the gentleman I was with would write to my former master, informing him where I was, and obtain the reward fixed upon me. Fearing I should be taken I immediately left, and went into

* During my stay in this town, I thought of the vow I made in the water, (page 42), and I became more thoughtful about the salvation of my soul. I attended the Methodist Chapel, where a Mr. Benton preached, and there I began to feel that I was a great sinner. During the latter part of my stay here, I became more anxious about salvation, and I entertained the absurd notion that religion would come to me in some extraordinary way. With this impression, I used to go into the woods two hours before daylight to pray, and expected something would take place, and I should become religious.

the town of Ludlow, where I met with a kind friend, Mr. ——,* who sent me to school for several weeks. At this time I was advertised in the papers, and was obliged to leave. I went a little way out of Ludlow,† to a retired place, and lived two weeks with a Mr. ——, deacon of a Baptist Church at Ludlow; at this place I could have obtained education, had it been safe to have remained. From there I went to New Hampshire, where I was not safe, so went to Boston, Massachusetts, with the hope of returning to Ludlow, a place to which I was much attached. At Boston, I met with a friend, who kept a shop, and took me to assist him for several weeks. Here I did not consider myself safe, as persons from all parts of the country were continually coming to the shop, and I feared some might come who knew me. I now had my head shaved, and bought a wig, and engaged myself to a Mr. Perkins, of Brookline, three miles from Boston, where I remained about a month. Some of the family discovered that I wore a wig, and said that I was a runaway slave; but the neighbours all around thought I was a white, to prove which I have a document in my possession to call me to military duty. The law is, that no slave or coloured person performs this, but every other person in America, of the age of twenty-one, is called upon to perform military duty once or twice in the year, or pay a fine.

COPY OF THE DOCUMENT.

"Mr. Moses Roper,

"You being duly enrolled as a soldier in the company, under the command of Captain Benjamin Bradley, are hereby

* It would not be proper to mention any names, as a person in any of the States in America, found harbouring a slave, would have to pay a heavy fine.

† Whilst in this neighbourhood, I attended the Baptist Meeting, and trust the preaching of the gospel was much blessed to my soul. As this was the first time I was ever favoured with any education, I was very intent upon learning to read the Bible, and in a few weeks I was able, from my own reading, to repeat by heart the whole of the last chapter of Matthew. I also attended the prayer and inquiry meetings, where the attendants used to relate their experience, and I was requested to do the same. I found these meetings a great blessing, and they were the means, under God, of communicating to my mind a more clear and distinct knowledge of the way of salvation by Jesus Christ.

notified and ordered to appear at the Town House, in Brookline, on Friday, 28th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., for the purpose of filling the vacancy in the said company, occasioned by the promotion of Lieut. Nathaniel M. Weeks, and of filling any other vacancy which may then and there occur in the said company, and then wait further orders.

"By order of the Captain.

"F. P. WENTWORTH, Clerk.

"*Brookline, August 14th*, 1835."*

I then returned to the city of Boston, to the shop where I was before. Several weeks after I had returned to my situation, two coloured men informed me, that a gentleman had been inquiring for a person, whom, from the description, I knew to be myself, and offered them a considerable sum if they would disclose my place of abode; but they, being much opposed to slavery, came and told me; upon which information, I secreted myself till I could get off. I went into the Green Mountains for several weeks, from thence to the city of New York, and remained in secret several days, till I heard of a ship, the Napoleon, sailing to England, and on the 11th of November, 1835, I sailed, taking my letters of recommendation, to the Drs. Morrison and Raffles, and the Rev. Alexander Fletcher. The time I first started from slavery, was in July, 1834, so that I was nearly sixteen months in making my escape.

CHAPTER IX.

The Author arrives at Liverpool, November 29, 1835.—Manchester.—London.

ON the 29th of November, 1835, I reached Liverpool; and my feelings when I first touched the shores of Britain were

* Being very tall, I was taken to be twenty-one; but my correct age, as far a s I can tell, is stated in page 9.

indescribable, and can only be properly understood by those who have escaped from the cruel bondage of slavery.

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it."

"Slaves cannot breathe in England;
If their lungs receive our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country, and their shackles fall."— COWPER.

When I reached Liverpool, I proceeded to Dr. Raffles, and handed my letters of recommendation to him. He received me very kindly, and introduced me to a member of his church, with whom I stayed the night.—Here I met with the greatest attention and kindness. The next day I went to Manchester, where I met with many kind friends; among others, Mr. Adshead, of that town, to whom I desire, through this medium, to return my most sincere thanks for the many great services which he rendered me, adding both to my spiritual and temporal comfort. I would not, however, forget to remember here Mr. Leese, Mr. Giles, Mr. Crewdson, and Mr. Clare, the latter of whom gave me a letter to Mr. Scoble, the secretary of the Anti-slavery Society. I remained here several days, and then proceeded to London, December 12th, 1835, and immediately called on Mr. Scoble, to whom I delivered my letter. This gentleman procured me a lodging. I then lost no time in delivering my letters to Dr. Morrison and the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, who received me with the greatest kindness; and shortly after this, Dr. Morrison sent my letter from New York, with another from himself, to the *Patriot* newspaper, in which he kindly implored the sympathy of the public in my behalf. The appeal was read by Mr. Christopherson, a member of Dr. Morrison's church, of which gentleman I express but little of my feelings and gratitude, when I say, that throughout he has been towards me a parent, for whose tenderness and sympathy I desire ever to feel that attachment which I do not know how to express.

I stayed at his house several weeks, being treated as one of the family. The appeal in the *Patriot* referred to getting a suitable academy for me, which the Rev. Dr. Cox recommended, at Hackney, where I remained half a year, going through the rudiments of an English education. At this time, I attended the ministry of Dr. Cox, which I enjoyed very much,

and to which I ascribe the attainment of clearer views of divine grace than I had before. I had attended here several months, when I expressed my wish to Dr. Cox to become a member of his church. I was proposed; and after stating my experience, was admitted, March 31, 1846.

Here it is necessary that I should draw this narrative to a close, not that my materials are exhausted, but that I am unwilling to extend it to a size which might preclude many well-wishers from the possession of it.

But I must remark, that my feelings of happiness at having escaped from cruel bondage, are not unmixed with sorrow of a very touching kind. "*The Land of the Free*" still contains the mother,* the brothers, and the sister of Moses Roper, not enjoying liberty, not the possessors of like feelings with me, not having even a distant glimpse of advancing towards freedom, but still slaves! This is a weight which hangs heavy on me. As circumstances at present stand, there is not much prospect of ever again seeing those dear ones, from whom, on the Sunday night, I was torn away by armed slaveholders and carried into cruel bondage.† And nothing would contribute so much to my entire happiness, if the kindness of gracious Providence should ever place me in such favourable circumstances as to be able to purchase their freedom. But I desire to express my entire resignation to the will of God. Should that Divine Being who made of one flesh all the kindreds of the earth, see fit that I should again clasp them to my breast, and see in them the reality of free men and free women, how shall I, a poor mortal, be enabled to sing a strain of praise sufficiently appropriate to such a boon from heaven.

* About five months ago the Author wrote to Dr. Gallon, his mother's master, to know what sum would be sufficient to purchase her freedom, and he has received the following painful answer:—

"*Milton, North Carolina, Aug.* 28, 1839.

"Your mother and her family were transferred from this place, two or three years ago, to Grunsburgh, in the State of Alabama, and I regret to inform you that your mother is since dead."

☞ The Author has since ascertained that the above is untrue, and sent merely to annoy him.
April, 1843.

† See page 20.

But if the All-wise Disposer of all things should see fit to keep them still in suffering and bondage, it is a mercy to know that he orders all things well, that he is still the judge of all the earth, and that under such dispensations of his providence, he is working out that which shall be most for the advantage of his creatures.

Whatever I may have experienced in America at the hands of cruel taskmasters, yet I am unwilling to speak in any but respectful terms of the land of my birth. It is far from my wish to attempt to degrade America in the eyes of Britons. I love her institutions in the Free States, her zeal for Christ; I bear no enmity to the slave-holders, but regret their delusions; many, I am aware, are deeply sensible of the fault, but some I regret to say are not, and I could wish to open their eyes to their sin; may the period come, when God shall wipe off this deep stain from her constitution, and may America soon be indeed the land of the free.

In conclusion, I thank my dear friends in England for their affectionate attentions, and may God help me to show by my future walk in life, that I am not wanting in my acknowledgments of their kindness. But above all, to the God of all grace, I desire here before his people, that all the way in which he has led me has been the right way, and as in his mercy and wisdom, he has led me to this country, where I am allowed to go free, may all my actions tend to lead me on, through the mercy of God in Christ, in the right way, to a city of habitation.

APPENDIX.

BERWICK, MARCH, 1846.

SOON after my arrival in England, I went to a boarding-school at Hackney, near London, and afterwards to another boarding-school at Wallingford, and after learning to read and write and some other branches, I entered as student at University College, London, which place, I very much regret, however, I was obliged to leave, in consequence of bad health; and during the time I was at school I lectured in different towns and sold my Narrative or book to pay for my education. On the 29th of December, 1839, I was married to a lady of Bristol, and, after travelling tens of thousands of miles, and lecturing in nearly every town and hundreds of villages in England, at the commencement of 1844, I left England with my family for British North America, and have taken up my future residence in Canada West, it being as near as I can get to my relations (who are still in bondage) without being again taken. Having some matters of a private nature to settle in this country, I left Canada in December, 1845, for England, and arrived at Liverpool, on the 25th of January, 1846, in the ship Orphan. I intend now, before I return to Canada, to visit Scotland and Ireland, and deliver lectures, as I have not been in many towns in those countries. I shall then bid farewell once more to dear and happy Old England, not expecting again ever to return, but hoping to meet many thousands of her inhabitants (whom I have seen and addressed) in Heaven. My dear and kind friends, throughout Great Britain and Ireland, farewell!

LETTERS BY A GENTLEMAN IN MANCHESTER, WHO SAYS MR. ROPER DID WRONG IN RUNNING AWAY FROM HIS MASTER.

Monday Morning, Sept. 18, 1837.

I have read the accompanying Narrative with much interest, and I may say it has increased my deep abhorrence of the horrid evils of slavery; but, I must confess, it is impossible for me to approve the conduct, past or *present*, of the poor fugitive. In perusing his account of himself, I have been much struck with the fact, that all the cruel usage he complains of he brought wilfully upon himself by repeatedly running away; indeed, his entire history is a series of fugitive conduct, which cannot be approved upon Christian principles, as it is evident from the whole tenor of Scripture (see 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, c. vii. v. 20–24, and 1st Epistle to Peter, c. ii. v. 18–21); and from St, Paul to Philemon, I should learn that professing himself now *a Christian*, it is either his incumbent duty to return to his master, acknowledge his past unprofitable conduct, and for what he has wronged him make restitution, or if not, I think the money raised by the sale of his book should, *first of all*, be applied to the purchase of his freedom and paying compensation, which done he may, with a quiet conscience, go forward with the expense of his education, and expect God's blessing to crown the excellent work to which he purposes dedicating himself. If this course is pursued, or any other that I can comfortably sanction, I shall be glad to aid him as far as I can by promoting the circulation of his Narrative.

EDWARD LINGARD.

Saturday Night, Sept. 23, 1837.

As my poor hasty note which I wrote in the hurry of business the other day, relative to the object of your kind compassion—Moses Roper—has excited some interest in your mind, I am told that you wish to submit it to the consideration of some few friends. Perhaps, if I had thought it would have attracted so much of your attention, I might have studied and weighed my sentiments more closely: but as I only *briefly* expressed the honest sentiments of my mind, I can have no objection at all to your making what use you think proper of my note, especially as the more I reflect upon all the circumstances of poor Roper's Narrative, the more I am convinced that my view of the subject is correct and Scriptural. I hope, my dear Sir, that I am not misunderstood; I do as heartily deprecate the system and evils of slavery as the most zealous member of the Anti-slavery Society; but there is a *legitimate* as well as *illegitimate* method to pursue for its abolition; and if it had been compatible with the gentle *submissive* spirit of Christianity violently to break its bonds asunder, we should not find Christ and his apostles so earnestly exhorting their converts to endure the yoke *patiently*, while yet to *desire freedom*, if they could obtain it *legally and justly;* and horrid as is the present system of slavery, it is mild and tolerable now compared to the severity and wretchedness of it under Roman laws and customs in the primi-

tive ages of the Gospel; therefore, I cannot approve of Moses Roper violently breaking loose from servitude, for if it is justifiable in him it would be equally so in *the whole Negro race*, and instead of being anxious to purchase the freedom of his mother, he ought to recommend her to make her escape, and follow him to Briton's fair isle of peace and liberty.

EDWARD LINGARD.

A REPLY TO THE PRECEDING LETTERS.

The above writer grants the evils of slavery, but does not appear to understand that liberty is the unalienable right of every man, and that all laws which tend to deprive him of that liberty, being inconsistent with moral obligations, so far from being binding, are to be resisted. 2d. Without Moses Roper was a party to the law which made him a slave, that law must, in his case, be considered wholly nugatory. 3d, If slavery be iniquitous, Moses Roper acted right by breaking from his bonds; and so far from being blameable, is to all intents praiseworthy. There is a mistake in the proposition that he brought his ill-treatment wilfully upon himself by his fugitive method of freeing himself from slavery, because, if he had escaped, as was his obvious intention, he would have been out of the reach of ill-treatment. The writer is evidently unhappy in the Christian part of the argument, and especially in his quotations from Scripture, which go to prove the opposite view of the question: instance the case of Onesimus, whom the Apostle requests Philemon to receive not as a servant, but as a beloved brother. With respect to a restitution being made, the right in the master to Moses Roper is not warranted by Christianity; if not, it is contrary thereto; and by making restitution, he would acknowledge and support that which is contrary to the system of revealed truth.

ANSWER TO MR. LINGARD'S LETTER.

Manchester, 10th Mo. 18th, 1837.

I have read thy two notes on the subject of Moses Roper's case, in which I wished to have called thy charitable feelings and to have had thy sympathy on his behalf; but as thou hast taken a view agreeably to the contract of man to man, and not as the law of God, which must be superior to every other law, and must also be fully acknowledged by every professing Christian; the consequence is, we must admit the law of God is superior and anterior to the law of man. As to thy allusions to the Scriptures (1 Cor. 7 c. 20 to 24 v. and 1 Peter, 2 c. 18 to 21 v.), I can only consider them in a spiritual light, and as to Onesimus, that of an individual who had bound himself as a servant by his own consent, as we would consider an apprentice; but be it remembered, the master has no right ever to inflict corporeal

puuishment; the law is open to both parties, and if either do wrong they are only answerable to the infliction of the violation of the laws, which no man can dispute,—but not so, says the slave, nor can he conscientiously acquiesce therein, because he is torn from his happy home—his dearest relations and friends, that land so beautifully described by Montgomery:—

> "There is a land of every land the pride,
> Beloved by Heaven, o'er all the world beside;
> Where brighter scenes dispense serener light,
> And milder moons imparadise the night."

And is not that land equally as much the birthright of the slave, as the roaming mariner, or the inhabitants of the happy shores and internal residents of Great Britain? Yes; I consider the slave as free to enjoy our native climes as ourselves. God never made him a slave to man: mark that! Although I deprecate slavery in its highest terms, I still more deprecate the merciless disposition of man over man. Every one has a right to entertain his own opinion; but I cannot see how a minister of the gospel can preach otherwise than "peace and goodwill toward men," and "to do as they would be done unto."

Where a contract has been made between a man and his master, that ought to be binding, but when thy *beloved wife and daughters* are taken from thee to a land of slavery, oppression, and cruelty, does it not harrow up thy better feelings to consider its horrible inconsistency? And dost thou in this case suppose for a moment, that thy family is more sacred than the poor African's or any other being similarly situated? No, God forbid, it cannot be, and my full belief is, the vengeance of the Lord will be upon all those who advocate the cause to the contrary. Thou hast an idea that the miserable afflicted slave has had by his apprenticeship an amelioration of his sufferings, but ample testimonies can be brought forward to prove the contrary. The slave master knows he has only a short period to possess the powers of his inhuman cruelties, and it is his pride and his boast that they shall not be worth much when he has done with the objects of his constant reproaches and punishments. I have not replied to thy two notes hastily, but have patiently waited the time, when I could enter feelingly upon the subject, after giving them due consideration, and in the honest conviction of my mind. I believe I have sincerely stated the matter of fact in as few words as I could, as respected the condition of *man to man*, and *man to his Great Creator*. I am certain no example can be drawn forth from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (who is above all the apostles, or saints, or prophets, that have ever written), that he ever encouraged the inhuman traffic of slavery or holding men in *bondage*, whether in the *cares of this world*, or the spirit. His language was, "Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." There is one subject, although too delicate to be named, must not escape thine and my notice—remember—*Moses Roper's father was a free white man*. Now, I ask, then, what right, by the laws of religion, had he to become so intimate with his slave, and produce an offspring therefrom, and at the age of six years, to banish that object because it was his

very *portrait;* which said act was done to the satisfying the caprice of a newly married wife. Can this act justify the law of slavery? No! it cannot. Therefore taking slavery on thy plea, and by the arguments I have advanced, I do consider Moses Roper, and every other slave, is fully justified, and conscientiously bound to effect his liberty in the best way he can, so as not to do it with violence,

With the best feelings towards the alleviation of the sufferings and miseries of those that are in bondage,

Allow me to subscribe myself, &c.,

JOSEPH EVELEIGH.*

* Mr. E. is a member of the Society of Friends.

LINES

WRITTEN BY A LADY IN TAUNTON, ON HEARING OF THE ARRIVAL OF MOSES ROPER IN ENGLAND.

All hail to thee, land of the brave,
Thou beautiful isle of the sea!
O take to thy bosom the heart-stricken slave;
And bid him henceforward be free.

A poor friendless exile, from home
I have fled, and am seeking for rest;
From the high boasted country of freedom I come,
One of *thousands* by *freemen oppressed!*

Oh, America, boast not again
That thou art the "Land of the free,"
Whilst thou forgest for Africa's children the chain,
Can liberty flourish in thee?

You ask me what soul-wasting sin
Has doomed me an outcast to rove?
My crime? 'twas the African tint of skin,
Which Americans dare not to love.

Not to love—though the blood in our veins,
From the very same source may have flowed;
'Twas a father who fettered my limbs with these chains,
Sold,—nor one parting blessing bestowed.

Vain, vain, was a mother's despair,
Unheeded the tears which she shed;
His slave,—he but answered with curses her prayer,
And filled her torn bosom with dread.

I left her, all childless, to weep;
Ah, how oft 'tis the negress's doom!

O'er the forms of lost dear ones sad vigils to keep,
Till her sorrows find rest in the tomb.

But 'tis past, and I will not relate
All the toils and the sufferings I bore,
For my proud spirit rose, I have conquered my fate,
And I come to this negro-loved shore.

All hail to thee, land of the brave!
As I step on thy shore from the sea,
The fetters are snapt from the limbs of the slave,
And I feel that this moment I'm free.

S. D.

January 1st, 1836.

LINES

WRITTEN ON OCCASION OF THE ESCAPE TO ENGLAND OF
MR. MOSES ROPER,
Late an American Slave, now a Freeman of Great Britain.

Who is my brother? Ask the waves that come
From Afric's shores to greet our island home.
Who is my brother? Ask the winds that stray
From Indian realms, to chase our clouds away.
Who is my brother? Ask the suns that shine
On southern seas, then turn to smile on thine.
Who is my brother? Ask the stars that roll
Their nightly journey round from pole to pole.
These with one voice shall answer that they find
But one vast family in all mankind;
Nor colour, clime, nor caste can e'er efface
The kindred likeness of the wide-spread race,
Or break the chain that at the first began
To bind in one the family of man.

Come then, awake thy sympathies to feel
A brother's interest in thy brother's weal.
God's wisdom and his goodness both decreed
That from one stock all nations should proceed;
That wheresoe'er he cast his creatures' lot,
Kindness and love might consecrate the spot,
Behold thy brother! On his form, confess'd,
Thy nature's dignity is seen imprest,
In every look—in every gesture—man!
Wipe off the stamp of manhood, ye who can!
Beats not his breast with warm affection's glow!
Breathes not his mind with thoughts impassion'd flow?

Is there a joy—a grief man ever knew,
But in his bosom has a birth-place too?
What though a tyrant's hand might strive to bind,
With iron grasp, the energies of mind,
As well might chains and stripes control the wave,
The soul!—the soul!—can never be a slave!

Brother, by that Creative Power whose word
One common nature on our race conferred;
Brother, still closer by the love that sent
The Son of God to bear sin's punishment;
Brother, by grace divine which poured its light
On the dark horrors of our heathen night,
We give the hand of fellowship to thee,
We bid thee welcome, and we hail thee Free!
Thou art a slave no longer! On thy brow
The air of Freedom breathes in triumph now!
Thine heart rejoices o'er thy broken chain,
Whose links are sever'd ne'er to meet again.
But sweeter still, that liberty to know
Which Christ, the Saviour, only can bestow,
And feel, whate'er thy future lot may be,
The truth! The truth has made thy spirit free!
Through all thy touching story, glad we trace
The ways of Providence, the power of grace;
And see thy countless trials join to prove
The God of glory is the God of love.

Go, then, still guided by his mighty hand,
Where'er His will, his wisdom may command.
His love direct thy steps, as when of old
He led the shepherd of His chosen fold.
Thy tale, like his whose name is borne by thee,
Mark'd out for death in helpless infancy,
Like him, the child of servitude and shame.
Born of a race that bear the captive name;
Daily indebted to a tyrant's nod,
For the free mercies of a bounteous God;
Holding the very life He gave, at will
Of those who, though they cannot save, can kill,
Like him, cast from the land that gave thee birth,
And driven a wanderer on the face of earth.
(Like him, in all thy wanderings may'st thou find
The stranger's kindness soothe and cheer thy mind,)
Like him, when come to years, by grace divine,
Led to embrace a Saviour's cross as thine.
Still be thy tale like his;—to thee be given
To bear on earth the messages of heaven;
To tell the Pharaohs who enslave thy race
That God will scatter plagues on every place
Where proud oppression dares His wrath defy,

And brave his arm, and scorn His searching eye.
Sound out his thunders till the dead in sin
Shall hear the voice of conscience speak within.
Believe, and tremble at the dread decreee,
Break every chain—bid every slave be free.
Then, when thy brethren forth from bondage come,
Be thine to lead them to their better home—
The Land of Promise, where their souls shall rest,
With peace and liberty for ever blest,
And through the wilderness that lies between
Their wearied spirits and the joys unseen,
Be God to thee and them a shade by day,
A light by night to mark their future way,
Till all the freemen of the Lord shall meet,
To cast their crowns at Jesu's sacred feet,
And own the link that shall for ever bind,
Even as one soul, all nations of mankind.

M. B. TUCKEY.

Ferney, Cork, October 31, 1838.

TO Mr. MOSES ROPER.

VERSES WRITTEN IMPROMPTU BY A MAN OF COLOUR, ON MEETING Mr. ROPER IN THE VALE OF LEVEN, DUMBARTONSHIRE.

Sweet Leven ! sung in classic style of yore
By Smollett, in such warm impassioned strain,
I love upon thy flowing stream to pore,
And hail, fair Freedom, thy delightful reign.

Thank Heaven, I have lived to see begun,
And consummated nearly, I may say,
The glorious work of Liberty,—whose sun
Has usher'd in the smile of risen day.

And, Caledonia, much I love thy strand,
First in the list of freedom's friends thou art;
My warmest praise thou ever wilt command,
And I shall, Scotia, bear thee near my heart.

But oh ! my country ! must thou still remain
To wear thy fetters—and degraded be ?
When shall be torn the galling cruel chain ?
Must thou be doom'd to endless slavery ?

No ! thou art class'd already among the free—
See thy warm advocate, young Roper, stand !
In love's sweet embassy most powerfully
He breaks thy chain, with mighty giant hand.

His tyrant follows with his bloody hounds,
The track is lost—he plunges in the wave ;
And now with fleetest speed onward he bounds,
And from him throws the cursed brand of slave.

Heaven throws its shield around thee, gallant youth,
With open arms, lo ! Britain doth thee hail,
Long shall its ministers thy sorows soothe,
And hear with interest thy affecting tale.

August 30, 1838.

Written by a Young Person after Hearing Mr. Roper Lecture in Sheffied.

To Mr. MOSES ROPER.

Welcome, my brother, to the land
Where Freedom's banner's waving :
Philanthropists, with heart and hand,
Rejoice to take the slave in.

" Slave !" no ! " slave" I dare not call thee,
When thou wast created free ;
Lest God's thunderbolts appal me,
For my base impiety.

But I'll call thee friend and brother ;
Oh, those sweet endearing names ;
Though not the offspring of one mother,
Both to Heaven have equal claims.

God, our parent, condescendeth
To be the father, friend of *all*,
Whose desires heav'nward ascendeth,
And for saving mercy call.

Of persons he is no respecter,
Black and white his love may share ;
He himself is the inspector
Of the fruit which all men bear.

Though oppression's sun is shining,
Ere long it shall cease to shine;
Lo! already 'tis declining,
May the pleasure yet be thine,

To hear these words (in thunder spoken),
"Slavery hath ceased to be;
And the galling chain is broken,
Every son of man is free!"

May the God of Heaven redress thee,
For thy sufferings here below;
Cause Britannia's sons to bless thee,
Sweeten here thy cup of woe.

May the olive tree of peace soon,
Fruitful, wave o'er all the Earth;
And that horrid traffic cease soon,
Which derived from Hell its birth.

May'st thou never know the want of
Friends to cheer thee, and to bless;
May they be just like a plant of
Everlasting fruitfulness.

Written by a Gentleman after the Address on American Slavery, delivered in Exeter, by Moses Roper, 21st January, 1839.

Son of God! O lend an ear,
These our supplications hear;
By the counsels of thy will,
By thy purpose to fulfil,
The Eternal God's decree—
Man, immortal, shall be free;
O let our prayers ascend to heaven,
And freedom to all Slaves be given!

By thy purposes to save,
From the terrors of the grave;
By thy Sceptre, Prince of peace,
Grant the suffering slaves release!
By thy mighty Arm of power,
Save them in the trying hour;
O hear us when we call on Thee—
Throughout the world let man be free

By the pledge to Adam given,
Ere from Eden he was driven;
By that dawn of hope to man,
In redemption's wond'rous plan;
By the covenant of grace,
To restore our fallen race;
O hear us when we call on Thee—
Throughout the world let man be free!

By thy truth from age to age
Written in the sacred page,
And revealed to holy Seers
'Midst their sorrows, hopes and fears,
By thy word to prophets sent,
By thy holy testament,
O hear us when we call on Thee—
Throughout the world let man be free!

By thy mystery of grace,
Standing in the sinner's place;
By thine own incarnate love,
Send deliverance from above;
By thy sorrows, pains and grief,
Grant the suffering Slaves relief;
O hear us when we call on Thee—
Throughout the world let man be free!

By that dark and awful hour,
Of thy foes' permitted power;
By thine interceding prayer,
Lord, our supplications hear;
By thy bloody sweat and tears,
Lord, remove the bondman's fears;
O hear us when we call on Thee—
Throughout the world let man be free!

By thy love which took our guilt,
By thy blood for sinners spilt;
By thy sufferings on the tree,
By thy dying agony;
By thy last expiring breath,
By thy word pronounced in death,
O hear us when we call on Thee—
Throughout the world let man be free!

By thy rising from the tomb,
Lord, avert the tyrant's doom;
By thy victory o'er the grave,
Free the Master, free the Slave;
All Creation groans for thee,
From the curse all creatures free;
O come, Thou Mighty Saviour, come,
And take thy ransom'd people home.

Clifton Place, Exeter. N. H.

A LIST OF CHURCHES,

IN WHICH MR. ROPER LECTURED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In the Places with the letter a prefixed, the Lecture was delivered in a Hall.

BAPTIST.

Bedfordshire.
a Bedford,
Biggleswade.
Blunham.
Cranfield.
Dunstable.
Leighton.
Luton,
Maulden.
Ridgmount.
Risely.
Sharnbrook.
Shefford.
Steventon.
Buckinghamshire.
Askett.
Aston Clinton.
Buckingham.
Chenies.
Chesham and Tring.
Chesham, 3d ch.
Colnbrook.
Cuddington.
Datchett.
Gold Hill.
Great Brickhill.
Haddenham.
Hanslope.
Ickford.
Ivinghoe.
Little Kingshill.
Long Crendon.
Marlow.
Missenden.
Mursley.
Olney.
Penn. Beacon Hill.
Princes Risborough.
Quainton.
Speen.
Stony Stratford.
Waddesdon Hill.
Cambridgeshire.
Bottisham Lode.
Cambridge.
Chatteris.
Cottenham.
Downham.
Gamlingay.
Haddenham.
Isleham.
March.
Soham.
Whittlesea.
Willingham.
Wisbech.
Derbyshire.
Duffield.
Loscoe.
Melbourne and Ticknall.
Smalley.
Stoke-on-Trent.
Devonshire.
Ashwater (Muckworthy.)
Bradninch.
Brayford.
Brixham.
Croyde.
Culmstock (Prescott).
Dartmouth.
Exeter, Bartholomew Yard.
Hemyock.
Tawstock.
Essex.
Saffron Walden.
Tillingham.
Gloucestershire.
Avening.
Blakeney.
Cambridge.
Coleford.
Lechlade.
Minchinhampton
Painswick.
Slimbridge.
Stow on the Wold
Herefordshire.
Ledbury.
Leominster.
Ross.
Tenbury.
Hertfordshire.
Berkhampstead.
Hemel Hampstead.
Markyate Street.
Rickmansworth.
St. Albans.
Tring.
Tring.
Huntingdonshire.
a Bluntisham.
Bythorne.
Great Gransden.
Huntingdon.
Kimbolton.
St. Ives.
St. Neots.
Somersham.
Spaldwick.
Kent.
Bessels Green.
Bethersden.
Bexley Heath.
Lancashire.
Bolton.
Burnley
Chowbent.
a Cloughfold.
Goodshaw.
Haslingden.
Liverpool:—
Myrtle Street.
a Pembroke Place.
Pleasant Street
Sidney Place,
Oswaldtwistle.
Rochdale.
Rochdale.
Tottlebank.
Leicestershire.
Appleby.
Arnsby.
Ashby and Packington.
Barton.
Billesdon.
Blaby.
Bosworth and Walton.
Lincolnshire.
a Market Rasen.
a Spalding.
a Spalding.
Northamptonshire.
Hackleton.
Harpole.
Kettering,
Kettering.
Kislingbury.
Middleton Cheney.
Northampton.
Oundle.
Raunds.
Ravensthorpe.
Rushden.
Stanwick.
Thrapstone.
West Haddon.
Weston by Weedon.
Nottinghamshire.
Beeston.
Kirby Woodhouse.
Somersetshire.
Bath:—a York Street.
a Bourton.
Bristol:—
a Broadmead.
a King Street.
Burrowbridge.

Burton.
Chard.
Creech.
Crewkerne.
Frome.
Highbridge.
Isle Abbotts.
Montacute.
North Curry.
Wincanton.
Yeovil.

Staffordshire.
Brettell Lane.
Burton on Trent.

Suffolk.
Otley.
Rattlesden.
Somersham,
Stradbrook.
Stowmarket.
Southwold.
Sutton.
Tunstal.
Waldringfield.
Wattisham.
Wetherden.

Sussex.
Battle.
Brighton.
Hailsham.

Wiltshire.
Downton.
Knoyle and Semley.
Ludgershall.
Malmsbury.
Melksham.
Netheravon,
North Bradley.
Sherston.
Shrewton, Bethesda.
Trowbridge :—
Back St.
Warminster.

Worcestershire.
Evesham, Cowl Street.
Tenbury.

Yorkshire.
Salendine Nook.
Scarborough.
Shipley.
Sutton.
Wainsgate.

Angleseyshire.
Amlwich.
Bodedern.
Brinsiencin.
Capel Gwyn.
Capel Newydd.
Holyhead and Bont.
Llanfachreth.
Llanfaethlu.
Llanfair.
Llangenfi.
Llannerchymedd.
Pencarnedu.

Brecknockshire.
Brecon, Welsh.
Brynmawr, Sion.
Builth.
Cerrickgadarn, Hephzibah.
Crickhowell.
Dyvynock.
Llanelly.

Carmarthenshire.
Ffynnon Henry.
Gwaunglyndaf.
Hebron, Llandyssil.
Llandilo.
Landyssil.
Llanelly, Bethel.
Llandybie.
Llandgadock.
Llandyfaen.
Llanfynydd.
Llangendeirn.
Llangennerch.
Llanstephan.
Login.
Mydrim.
Newcastle Emlyn
a Penrhiwgoch.
Penybont Llandyssil.
a Rehoboth.
Rhydargaen.
a Rhydwilym.
a Smyrna.
Talog, Bethania.

Carnarvonshire.
Bangor.
Capelbeirdd.
Cefnfaes.
Llanaelhairn.
Llanberis.
Llanduduo.
Llangian.
Llanllyfni.
Llanwydden.
Nevin.
Pontycim.
Pwllheli and Tyddynsion.
Rhos.
Roshirwaen.
Salem, Tyndonem.

Glamorganshire.
Lantrisssaint.
Merthyr.
Ditto Zion.
Newbridge.
Rhymney.
Swansea.
Ditto, Mount Pleasant.
Trefforest.

Merionethshire.
Cwnwyd and Llansantffraid.
Dolgelly.

Montgomeryshire.
Llanidloes.
Llanwain,
Newtown.
Newtown, Sarn.
Rhydfellen.
Welshpool.

Monmouthshire.
Bethlehem.
Bethesda.
Beulah.
Blaenavon.
Brynmawr.
Caerleon.
Chepstow.
Cwmbran.
Glasgoed.
Llanelly.
Llanhiddel.
Llanvihangel Crucorny.
Llanwenarth.
Magor.
Nantyglo.
Nash.
Newport, Welsh.
Newport, Eng. Commercial Road.
Penuel.
Penrhos.
Penycae.
Penygarn.
Pisgah.
Pontrhydyryn.
Ragland.
Rymney, Eng.
Rymney, Welsh.
a Do. Jerusalem.
Risca.
St. Brides.
St. Melons.
Sion Chapel.
Sirhowy.
Taliwain.
Tredegar, Eng.
Tredegar, Welsh.
Trosnant, Eng.
Trosnant, Welsh.
Twyngwyn.
Usk.
Victoria.
Zoar, Henllys.

INDEPENDENT.

Bedfordshire.
a Bedford.
Harrold.
Luton.
Woburn.

Berkshire and Oxfordshire.
Beaconsfield, Bucks.
Farringdon.
Hungerford, Berks.
Maidenhead, Berks.
a Newbury, Berks.
a Reading, Berks.
Staines.
Uxbridge.
a Wallingford.

Bristol and Gloucester.
Berkeley.
Cheltenham.
Cirencester.
Dursley.
Frampton-on-Severn.
Frampton Cotterell.
Kingswood.

Bucks.
Newport Pagnel, Bucks.
Stony Stratford, Bucks.
Towcester.
Winslow.

Cambridgeshire.
Fulbourn.
Royston.
Newmarket.
Soham.

Cheshire.
Chester.
Stockport.
Tintwistle.
Northwich.
Knutsford.

Middlewich.
Nantwich.
Tattenhall.
Woodside.
Cornwall.
St. Agnes.
Bodmin.
St. Columb.
Grampound.
Launceston.
Cumberland.
a Penrith.
a Whitehaven.
Wigton.
a Workington.
Derbyshire.
Heanor.
Marple Bridge.
New Mills.
Repton and Barrow.
Wirksworth.
Devon.
Hartland.
South Molton.
Torrington.
Chivenor.
South Devon.
Dartmouth.
a Devonport.
East Devon.
Axminster.
Beer and Seaton.
Collumpton.
Crediton.
Sidbury.
Sidmouth.
Tiverton.
Dorsetshire.
Poole.
a Shaftesbury.
Sherborne.
a Stalbridge.
Sturminster.
Swanage.
Verwood, near Cranborne.
Wareham.
Weymouth.
West Lulworth.
Wimborne.
Durham.
a Durham.
Easington-lane.
Felling.
Hartlepool.
Richmond (Yorkshire.)
Northumberland.
Alnwick.
Amble.
Embleton,
Haydon Bridge.
Morpeth.

Essex.
Abbots Roothing
Billericay.
Braintree.
Brentwood.
Brightlingsea.
Bumpstead, Steeple.
Chelmsford,
Castle Hedingham.
Chishall.
Clavering.
Coggeshall.
Colchester.
Dunmow.
Epping.
Finchingfield.
Fordham.
Halstead
Harwich.
Wivenhoe.
Hampshire.
Stockbridge.
Tadley.
Whitchurch.
Emsworth.
Gosport.
a Petersfield.
a Portsmouth.
Tichfield.
Rowland's Castle.
Alresford.
Botley.
Romsey.
Southampton, Above Bar.
Winchester.
Christchurch.
Fordingbridge.
Lymington.
Ringwood.
Herefordshire.
a Ross.
Bucks.
Hemel Hempsted
Bushey.
Chesham.
Hertfordshire.
Hatfield.
Hertford.
Hitchin.
Ware.
Kent.
Bromley.
Dartford.
Chatham.
a Gravesend.
Maidstone.
Cranbrook.
Canterbury.
Deal.
Dover.
Faversham.

Lancashire.
Liverpool.
Orrell.
a Prescot.
Rainford.
a Southport.
Warrington.
Wigan.
Wigan.
Woodside, Cheshire.
a Lancaster.
Milnthorpe.
a Kendal.
Ulverston.
Harpurhey.
Heywood.
Hyde.
Horwich.
a Manchester.
Blackburn.
Clitheroe.
Leicestershire.
Kibworth.
Loughborough.
Lincolnshire.
Lincoln.
a Louth.
a Spilsby.
Long Sutton.
Pinchbeck.
a Sleaford.
a Stamford.
Monmouthshire.
Pontypool.
Norfolk.
Burnham.
Creak and Walsingham.
Dereham.
Diss.
Heacham.
Lynn.
Northamptonshir.
Buckby, Long.
Creaton.
Daventry.
Kilsby.
Market Harborough.
Byfield.
Brigstock.
Crick.
Nottinghamshire.
Nottingham—
Castle-gate.
Salop
Oswestry.
Wellington.
Wem.
Whitchurch.
Somersetshire.
Petherton, North
Broadway.

Chard.
Ilminster.
Bruton.
Milbourne Port.
Castle Cary.
Staffordshire.
a Newcastle.
Oldbury.
Smethwick.
Stafford.
Stone.
Tean
Walsall.
West Bromwich.
Suffolk.
Lowestoft.
Nayland.
Sudbury.
Wickham Market.
Woodbridge
Surrey.
a Dorking.
Farnham.
a Godalming.
a Guildford.
Ham.
Oxtead.
Sussex.
Billinghurst.
a Brighton.
Petworth.
Rye.
Wivilsfield.
Worthing.
Warwickshire.
Henley-in-Arden
Kenilworth.
Leamington.
a Southam.
a Stratford-on-Avon.
Tamworth.
Warwick.
Somersetshire.
a Marlborough.
Swindon.
Tisbury.
Westbury.
Bulford.
Frome.
Hindon.
Worcestershire.
Broadway.
Dudley.
York West Riding.
a Leeds,
Batley.
Cleckheaton,
Gomersal,
Heckmondwike,
Kipping.
Newton-in-Bowland,

Otley,
Settle,
Skipton,
Wibsey,
Wilsden,
Addingham,
Northowram,
Parak Nook,
Stainland,
Todmorden,
Wike,
Hopton,
Kirkheaton,
Delph,
Cowick,
a Goole,
Knottingley,
a Selby,
Barnsley,
Tickhill,
Rotherham,
Sheffield.
Yorkshire East Riding.
Barton,
a Beverley,
Driffield,
Gainsborough, L,
a Hull,
Frodlingham,
Beeford Long Riston, Bransburton, and Leven.
Yorkshire North Riding.

Ayton,
Appleton Wisk,
Easingwold,
Egton,
Guisbro'
Leyburn,
Lofthouse,
Malton,
Middlesbro'.
Carnarvonshire.
Llanberis.
Denbighshire.
Llansanan,
Rhoslanaerchrugog,
Rhydlydan, Nebo
Ruthin.
Sant George,
Wern,
Wrexham.
Flintshire.
Bagillt,
Flint.
Buckley Mountain,
Foel,
Harwd.
Holywell,
Mold.
Merionethshire.
Bala.
Barmouth,
Brithdir,
Cynwyd, Llandrillo,

Corwen,
Dinas.
Dolgellau,
Ffestiniog,
Montgomeryshire.
Aberhosan, Penegos,
Llanbrynmair,
Llanfair,
Llanfyllin,
Llanidloes,
Llansantfraid,
Breconshire.
Cwmcamlas,
Tynycoed,
Ystradgunlais,
Cwmtaff-fechan,
Abergwesin,
Troed,
Beulah,
Builth,
Gwenddwr,
Corrigcadarn,
Cardiganshire.
Neuadd-lwyd,
Aberaeron,
Capel-yr-Erw,
Pilbach,
Llanbadarn,
Talybont,
Troed-y-rhiw,
Aberystwith,
Pen-y-Cae,
Cardigan,

Carmarthen.
St. Clears,
Ffynon-bedr,
Gibeon,
Blaenycoed,
Capel Even,
Castell Newydd,
Landovery,
Llandgadog,
Cross Inn,
Glamorganshire.
Libanus.
Caerphilly
Cardiff,
Dinas,
Llantrisaint,
Cymmar,
Llanharan,
Bridgend,
Blaenafon,
Abersychan,
Pontypool,
Cwmbrân,
Penywaen,
Pembrokeshire.
Pen-y-groes,
Ty-rhos.
Brynberian.
Newport,
Rhos-y-caerau,
St. David,
Tref-garn.
Radnorsh.
Rhaiadr

BIBLE CHRISTIANS.

St. Just,
Vennor,
Polminich,
Harleston,
Porthleaven,
Leedstown,
Marazion or Market Jew,
Bethel,
Cambirn,

Lanner,
Lurillion,
Camelford,
St. Teath,
Lemannich.
North Petheymin
Tinney,
Week St. Mary,
Shebbear,
Holmorthy,

Bridgerne,
Chulmleigh,
Northlem, *Oct.* 20 1847.
Winkleigh,
Kilhampton,
Chagford,
Crondall,
Isle of Wight.
Newport,

Newbridge,
Chale,
Rookley,
Littletown,
Ventnor,
Whitwell,
Wroxall,
Shanklin,
Sandown,

FRIENDS OR QUAKERS.

White Hart Court London,
Darlington,
Norwich,
City of Bristol,

Bath, North Wales,
Bridgewater,
Wellington,
Ayton,

Taunton,
Tewkesbury,
Worcester,
Stoke-on-Trent,

Ipswich,
Glocester,
Whitley,

WESLEYAN METHODIST.

Nottingham,

Sheffield,

Chesterfield,

Wollingham,

Launceston, Hexham, Stratton, Lincoln, Redruth, Bodmin, Wednesbury, Hayle, Stilton,

NEW CONNEXION.

St. Agnes, St. Days, Hinley,

PRIMITIVE METHODIST.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, Burslem, Patries, St. Ives,

REFORMED METHODIST.

Carlisle, Wade Bridge,

And in numbers of School-Rooms belonging to the Church of England, as als in different Town Halls.

SCOTLAND.—UNITED SECESSION, RELIEF, &c.

a Old Meldrum,
Stonehaven,
Annan,
Ecclefechan,
Lockerby,
Wigton,
a Forfar,
Johnshaven, Bervie,
Montrose,
Belford, Free Church,
Berwick,
Chirnside, Ayton,
Coldstream,
Eyemouth,
Greenlaw,
Kelso,
North Sunderland,
Stockbridge, Cockburnspath
Wooler,
Anstruther,
Auchtermuchty, Established Church,
Ceres, Cupar-Fife,
Crail,
Cupar-Fife,
Dubbieside, Leven,
Fruechie, Kettle,
a Pitlessie,
St. Andrews,
Dalry, Castle Douglas,
Dumfries,
Lochmaben,
Minniehive,
Moffat,
Sanquhar,
Thornhill,
a Dundee,
Kirriemuir,
Newtyle, Cupar-Angus,
Dunfermline, Independent,
Kinross,
Limekilns, Dunfermline,
Milnathort, Kinross,
Muckhart, Alloa,
Dalkeith,
Dunbar,
Edinburgh :—
Nicolson St.
Rose Street,
Haddington, Baptist,
Leith,
North Berwick,
Peebles,
Tranent.
Elgin,
Forres,
Inverness,
Keith,
Airdrie, Independent,
Drymen,
Dumbarton,
a Glasgow,
Inverary,
Kirkintilloch,
Newarthill, Holytown,
Pollockshaws, Glasgow,
Strathaven,
a Ayr.
Beith,
Catrine, Mauchline,
Cumnock,
Dalry,
Girvan,
Irvine,
Kilmarnock,
Maybole,
Muirkirk,
Newills,
Saltcoats,
Stewarton,
Tarbolton,
Troon,
West Kilbride, Largs,
Kirkaldy,
Leslie,
Lochgelly, Kirkaldy,
Biggar,
Carnwath, Lanark,
Douglas,
Bellingham, Hexham,
Greenock,
Johnstone,
Largs,
Paisley,
Abernethy,
Auchterarder,
Auchtergaven,
Balbiggie,
Comrie,
Cupar-Angus,
Crieff,
Dunning,
Errol,
Kinclaven,
Leslie,
Lethendy, Auchterarder,
Logiealmond, Perth,
Methven, do.,
Newburgh,
Perth, Baptist,
Earlston, Melrose
Galashiels,
Hawick,
Jedburgh,
Lilliesleaf,
Melrose,
Selkirk,
Aberchirder,
a Banff,
Craigdam,
Ellon,
New Deer, Mintlaw,
Peterhead,
Airth,
Alloa,
Alva,
Bathgate,

Bucklyvie, Stirling,
Falkirk,
Holm of Balfron,
Kincardine,
Linlithgow,
Stirling,
Tillicoultry,
Creetown,
Gatehouse,
Glenluce,
Kirkcowan,
Newt.-stewart,
Stranraer, Church of Scotland,
Whithorn, Wigtown,
Gateside, Moffat,
Ceres, Cupar-Fife
Colinsburgh,
Dysart,
Kettle,
Largo,
Leven,
Pittenweem,
Bathgate,
Berwick-on-Tweed,
Biggar,
Blairlogie, Stirling,
Dalkeith,
Dunfermline,
Earlston,
Falkirk,
Leith,
Balfron,
Bonhill, Dumbarton,
Campsie,
Coatbridge, Airdrie,
Dumbarton,
Kilmarnock,
Kilsyth,
Carluke,
Kilbride,
Lanark,
Roberton, Biggar,
And other Towns.